

THE Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

THE NATION AND THE CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT.

No. IV.

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

THE manner in which, and the extent to which, the Church Establishment has affected, for good or for evil, the education of the people, supply a test by which the practical advantage of the institution, in a national point of view, may be fairly measured. It is a large subject—far too large to be handled, except in an extremely summary fashion, in the present series of papers. It embraces the past as well as the present. It demands an approximate estimate, not only of what is being done, but also of what is hindered from being done, in this matter by the State-Church and by the influences which grow out of it. It comprises within its range University education, endowed schools education and elementary education. It should take cognisance both of the means and methods employed, and of the general results obtained by them. In treating of it, figures should be discriminated from equally pertinent facts which figures cannot represent—quality should be analysed as well as gross amounts summed up—and growth, so far as there has been growth, should be traced, as nearly as may be, to its real causes. We doubt whether on any other modern question in dispute, mere words, phrases, claptraps, truisms, or what we may call *obiter dicta* have played so conspicuous or so misleading a part, or whether ruling statesmen have so beguiled themselves or imposed hollow sentiment upon others. All that we can now say upon the subject must needs be packed into a few paragraphs, and therefore must take the form of hints rather than arguments. In a word, we must restrict ourselves to sweeping but momentary glances, and disclaim anything approaching to studied detail.

The first great fact relating to this subject which seizes attention is the lamentably large proportion of the English population which, even to this day, reaches manhood, and takes upon itself its serious responsibilities, wholly, or well nigh wholly, devoid of lettered intelligence. We need not trouble the reader with statistics in illustration of this point. It is admitted and deplored by all parties. Neither shall we echo the conjectural and exaggerated allegation that the people of this country are "the worst educated people in Europe." The

actual truth of the case is quite discreditable enough without resorting to disparaging comparisons. No doubt, the school education of the poorer classes has been fearfully inadequate to their numbers and to the need of it. It was once much more so, however, than it is now. Fifty years ago, and thence backward for many generations, the elementary education of what were then called the "common people," was not only not an object of urgent importance in the estimation of the public, but by not a few members of high social rank, was considered a matter of doubtful policy. The country has moved on a long way in advance of this condition—but so far as the purpose of the present papers is concerned, we are bound to take it into account.

The next great fact which is suggested by the state of things glanced at in the foregoing sentences is that it grew up in the presence of a large and richly endowed State institution, the avowed end of which was the diffusion through all classes of society, but especially among the poor, of the elements, at any rate, of Christian knowledge. The State Church has very considerable annual revenues. It has quite a small army of "educated gentlemen" in its service. The territorial area of its work has been conveniently divided into dioceses and parishes. The law has generally scattered privileges among its clergy with a liberal hand. They have exercised, moreover, an almost unbounded social influence. Their sole business has been, or should have been, to shed religious light—and therefore, as preparatory to it, some beams, at least, of intellectual and moral light—upon all the souls within their spiritual cure. Missionaries to the heathen almost invariably regard the school as the porch to the church, and seek to achieve their higher ends by an assiduous culture of the mental capacities most accessible to them. Now, it is certainly a noteworthy incident of the wide-spread popular ignorance which casts so dark a shadow upon the reputation of our otherwise favoured land, that it has grown up under the eyes of a Church Establishment the primary object of which—namely, the suitable development of an enlightened Christian conscience—could with difficulty be reached without removing it. We do not say that it had in its hands a sufficiency of means to do this. What we regard as most striking about the matter is that, until quite lately, the State Church took but little notice of the cancer that was eating away the roots, not merely of national morality, but of national strength—that her clergy did not cry aloud for help—that they were not foremost, or among the foremost, to put society on its guard against the folly and the wrong of allowing generation after generation to remain immersed in densest ignorance. Even supposing it possible for the authorised religious teachers of the nation to have been misled by narrow professional ideas of the functions appropriate to clerical work, one might fairly have expected that they would have taken pains to imbue the people of their several cures, from the least to the greatest, with that Biblical knowledge which they held to be indispensable to religious life. In towns, perhaps, even this may have been found impracticable in a great number of cases, but in rural parishes it must surely have been possible, if not easy, to make this slight contribution towards the decent upbringing of the poor.

Let it be borne in mind that the Church Establishment claimed this work as her exclusive prerogative. She alone, according to her own declaration, was entitled to take upon herself the responsibility of being the instructress of the nation. And, in proportion to the degree of her influence over the civil legislature, she did what she could to make her claim valid. When she was all-powerful, it was forbidden by law that any but those of her own communion should keep school at all. When the sentiment of the age outgrew and burst the bonds of this intolerance, she left no stone unturned to get under her own jealous direction and management, or to outbid and if possible frustrate, all organised appliances for promoting elementary education which were set in motion outside her own pale. She was far more zealous in decrying other folks' work than in initiating work of her own. The State, unhappily, reflected her mind in this matter, and one Cabinet Minister after another broached educational projects, the pith and purpose of which was to commit the superintendence of public education exclusively to the hands of the clergy of the Church of England, who in bygone times had shamelessly neglected it. Anyone who has made himself conversant with the history of popular education in this country will feel himself compelled to acknowledge that, down to times within living memory, the preposterous pretensions of the clergy of the Church Establishment did much more to hamper than to hasten the progress of intellectual culture in the lower strata of society.

Of late years, it cannot be disputed, a considerable breadth of work has been done. If it had not been, in part at least, owing to sectarian rivalry, and tinged by it, it might have been more fruitful, and would have commanded more grateful recognition. This is not said in disparagement of the self-sacrificing zeal of individual clergymen. Many of them, we believe, and we rejoice to believe, have exhibited genuine heroism in their efforts to erect and to maintain a national school in their respective parishes. We should be sorry, indeed, calumniously to asperse the sincerity of their motives. Still, the general effect of what they have done, and are doing, must be judged of by the light of general considerations. We cannot but bear in mind that the offer of public money in aid of elementary education has largely stimulated the interest taken in it by the clergy. In sooth, it was obviously meant to do so. It presented a tempting opportunity for retaining and extending clerical influence in the parishes in some appreciable measure at the public cost. It served to confirm, and even to exalt, the status of parochial incumbents, by investing them with increased powers. It raised them to a wider and surer dominion over the minds of their parishioners, which might be turned to account for the benefit of the ecclesiastical system with which they were themselves incorporated. It preoccupied ground which might also have been taken possession of by others, and on other terms. Considerations of this nature may be honourably enough entertained in individual instances, but they can hardly be reckoned such as should ultimately mould a national scheme of education. They may even stand in the way of it, and, in the end, prove more obstructive to the insuring of efficient instruction to the poor than even that inactivity which society in these

days does not scruple to condemn. But we have outrun our customary space, and must reserve till next week what more we desire to say on the subject.

THINKING BETTER OF IT.

AMONGST the many curious utterances evoked by the Public Worship Regulation Act during its passage through Parliament, a speech by the Bishop of Peterborough bore the palm of paradox. For he supported a bill, the express object of which was a better enforcement of the law, by the very singular argument that the law in its present condition was absolutely incapable of enforcement. But although this might seem like episcopal madness, there was certainly method in it. For on the one hand it served to protect that precious "discretion" in the administration of the Act, which the bishops appeared at one time likely to lose. And on the other hand it created an impression that if only the measure was passed, something would positively have to be done about the rubrics, in order to make it workable. To facilitate the realisation of this hope as well as to gratify the *amour propre* of Convocation, the operation of the Act was delayed until the middle of the coming year, with an understanding that the period of grace should be used by our spiritual Parliament for the purpose of considering and recommending such alteration of the rubrics as might seem necessary or desirable. Such a prospect gave to Convocation an unwonted importance. In the very flat condition of earthly politics the probable tactics of Evangelicals and Ritualists, High Church, Dry Church, and Broad Church, were the subject of eager speculation and universal interest. True, the interest excited was for the most part of that cynical and inhuman kind which street boys never fail to manifest on the slightest promise of a row. But such as it was, it was at least genuine; and it seems almost a cruel thing that it should be disappointed. Who does not know the sudden shadow that falls on the delighted grin of juvenile spectators, when the hot interchange of challenges—"Hit me, if you dare," "You hit me, then"—is toned down into inarticulate growls, and a shuffling retreat on both sides? We fear there are not wanting multitudes of riper years, who are similarly affected by the do-nothing policy so rapidly gaining favour amongst assemblies of the clergy.

For ourselves it is scarcely necessary to disclaim any such unamiable feeling. In the midst of last session's ecclesiastical excitement we ventured to doubt whether, after all the high-sounding debate, the new law would not prove as futile as the Ecclesiastical Titles Act of ignoble memory. Besides, even though the wrath of man is, as we are taught, overruled and made subservient to Divine purposes, another and by no means conflicting passage of Scripture declares that "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." And much as we deprecate the political bondage of the Anglican Communion, we have too much respect for its high position in the Universal Church to have any desire that the Establishment should be ignobly done to death in an ecclesiastical brawl. That it will have an end every one knows now. But we could wish to see it grandly fold its robes about it, and die the Parliamentary death which befits a once imperial institution. We are scarcely sanguine enough to expect that such a wish will be fully realised. For unjust privilege is rarely wise until too late. But the calm surrender by the Church of an untenable position would be a far nobler success for our principles, than any hasty and violent disruption through a faction fight. However, the settlement of this question does not rest with us. All we know is that disestablishment is rapidly approaching. And we think the clergy will be wise if they determine, as they seem inclined to do, that the issue shall not be brought about by a disreputable squabble in Convocation. The probability of such a determination seems to be shown pretty clearly by the reports appearing almost every day from deanery gatherings and diocesan conferences. Even the Bishop of Gloucester, ominous as were many portions of his recent charge, is of opinion that "there is a comparative lull in the unhappy discord that has of late been showing itself." And however treacherous that lull may be, we think he is right.

Students of the *Church Times* can hardly have failed to remark that, like Bottom the weaver, it has "aggravated its voice" so as to be scarcely recognisable. We have missed of late the prophetic burdens of woe, the dire threats and martyr-like defiance of worldly power, which have often made its columns an agreeable relief to the tedium of Friday's home-

ward train. The clergy of the Bristol Deanery have in a recent meeting said some strong things about certain notorious rubrics. One of them observed, not untruly, that "it was the very existence" of the ornaments rubric "that was the cause of the lawsuits they all deplored"; and he maintained that "there could not be peace as long as the rubric remained." A layman contended that "the vestments were intended as symbolic of doctrines repugnant to the Church of England, and they ought to give no standing ground to such doctrines, but they ought to obtain a revision of the rubrics so as to prevent the introduction of vestments." Another clergyman very sensibly argued that it was perfectly plain the rubric was interpreted by the present assembly in two diametrically opposite senses; that the law was, therefore, clearly in an ambiguous condition, which is not usually considered a desirable characteristic of law; and that something ought to be done. But, after all, the conclusion arrived at by a vote of 114 to 96 was that meddling could not improve things, and might make them worse. In the Manchester Diocesan Synod, the Bishop took the opinion of his clergy on the question, "whether it will be better to modify existing rubrics, or to allow the bishop freely to exercise his discretion in cases where the usage, though probably contrary to the letter of the rubric, is long established, and is not offensive to any large portion of the congregation, nor contrary to the mind and spirit of the Church of England." The elaboration of the second alternative indicates the bishop's own preference clearly enough. And as nearly the whole time allotted to the question was occupied by his own speech, leaving only five minutes each to the objectors, there is little wonder that the bishop's suggestion was all but unanimously adopted. And a very remarkable suggestion it is. There are four points on which the bishop is to exercise his discretion. He is to decide on his own authority; first whether the practice complained of is or is not contrary to the letter of the rubric; secondly, supposing the former alternative be adopted, whether the usage is "long established"—a very elastic phrase; thirdly, whether it is "offensive to any large part of the congregation"—another elastic phrase; and, finally, whether it is "contrary to the mind and spirit of the Church of England"—a phrase so elastic as to be capable of anything a bishop may put into it. When we remember the passion with which this rubric is discussed; when we bear in mind the stupendous dogmas which are persistently associated with vestments and the eastward position; and when we reflect that these dogmas appear to some Churchmen essential to Christianity, and to others the very abomination of desolation, we can only wonder at the calm assurance with which it is proposed that the decision of such points shall be left with the "discretion" of the bishops. Still more wonderful, however, is the meekness with which such a proposal is received. But then, is not the Establishment at stake? And, in such a case, of what consequence is the difference between saving truth and damning error? By all means let such secondary points be left to the bishops. For the apostles of evangelical truth, and the venturesome pioneers of rationalism, and the unblushing assertors of sacerdotalism, have all agreed one with another that, in a low and demoralising sense never dreamed of by the prophet, "their strength is to sit still."

MOB VIOLENCE AT WIGAN.

The "Conservative working man" was one of Mr. Disraeli's discoveries in his voyage to that Hyperborean region (to fall back on a metaphor of Mr. Lowe), in which at the back of the north wind there is a temperate zone of Church and State principles—a perpetual spring of Toryism pure and undiluted. But the Conservative working man is apt to degenerate sometimes into a "rough." In Nottingham he is playfully known as a "lamb," dressed in blue ribbons he can be led by a string; but at election times he has been known to play such pranks, that even his own friends have been ashamed of him. But the Wigan Church Defenders are as great an advance on the Nottingham lambs as these are on the ordinary London rough. On Tuesday last the Liberation Society held a meeting at Wigan which the Church party determined should not come off if they could prevent it. They accordingly organised a Church and State mob, such as that which pulled down Priestley's house in Birmingham ninety years ago, a rabble, in fact, of the baser sort such as that which assailed the house of Jason in Thessalonica, on an occasion too well known to need further notice here.

That this was an organised attempt to suppress discussion by mob violence was evident from the first. The ringleader was a curate of the town, who, when challenged to come on the platform and reply to the speaker's arguments, refused to do so, but continued to act as fagman to the roaring mob at his heels. Amid an indescribable noise of catcalls, triangles, tin trumpets, and all sorts of discordant sounds, the lecturer, an ex-clergyman, the Rev. J. B. Heard, endeavoured to make a statement. It was evident that about two-thirds of the meeting were in favour of allowing the lecturer to proceed, but the minority were too well organised, and drowned his voice so effectually that the greater part of the address was delivered amid dumb-show. Some of the Church party, it is only fair to say, came forward and endeavoured to gain a hearing for the lecturer, under the promise that the Rev. Brewin Grant would visit the town on the Tuesday following and reply *seriatim* to the lecturer's arguments. But it was all to no purpose. These defenders of the faith had come for one object only, and were not to be balked of their sport. The meeting broke up at last in disorder, and the police were eventually called in to turn off the lights and clear out the hall.

Counter-demonstrations of this kind can do the Liberation Society no harm. On the contrary, they recoil on the heads of those who are so shortsighted as to call in the roughs to prop up a sinking cause. But they show that in Wigan as in other places the friends of the Liberation cause must be on their guard for the future against tactics of this kind. In this case 400 cards of admission were forged through the carelessness of the printer, and precautions were not taken, by charging a small price for the tickets, that they should not fall into improper hands. As the society has undertaken a lecturing campaign, it is very desirable that the lesson of this Wigan *fiasco* should not be lost on the supporters of the Liberation Society throughout the country. The working classes need education on this great question, and how are they to get it unless meetings can be held with some degree of decorum, and all that can be said for and against a State-Church is heard on both sides. We have no fear of the results if we can only catch the ear of the genuine working man; but in order that we may do so our lecturers must be protected at least from mob-violence. The cause of a privileged Church must be in a bad way when it resorts to such instruments as these, and allows "literate" curates to win their way to promotion by such shabby tricks as these. Altogether it was a sorry spectacle, and we should hope for the sake of the Church itself it will not resort to appeals of this kind. May we not say of generalship of this kind what Lord North said of the English generals during the American War of Independence, "I do not know whether the enemy is afraid of you—but I know that I am."

THE LIBERATION SOCIETY.

CONFERENCE AT BRISTOL.

On Wednesday, Nov. 25, the second of a series of district conferences convened by the Liberation Society was held at Colston Hall, Bristol. It was intended for the counties of Gloucester, Somerset, Hereford, and Wilts, and there was an excellent attendance, including a few from Monmouthshire. Among those present were the following Bristol gentlemen:—Mr. L. Waterman (who presided), Rev. David Thomas, Rev. E. J. Hartland, Rev. Urijah Thomas, Mr. C. Townsend, Mr. Pethick, Rev. A. N. Blackford, Rev. R. Glover, Rev. E. G. Gange, Rev. H. E. Bottomley, Rev. L. Byrnes, Rev. W. W. Jubb, Rev. G. Wood, Mr. Godin, Mr. Grundy, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. S. Wills, Mr. Sibree, Mr. Derham, Mr. Mack, Mr. G. H. Leonard, Mr. Somerville, Rev. W. Adams, Rev. F. G. Rose, Mr. Cosham, Rev. W. James, and Mr. Sherring; also the Rev. T. Mann, of Trowbridge; Mr. G. Sully, of Bridgwater; Mr. Harria, of Colne; Rev. G. W. Humphreys, of Wellington; Rev. J. P. Allen, of Gloucester; Mr. Nicholson, of the Forest of Dean; Mr. C. Lewis and Mr. T. Jones, of Newport; Rev. B. Glazebrook, of Bridgwater; Rev. W. E. Daxby, of Chippenham; Mr. Tuck, of Bath; Mr. Morgan, of Warminster; Mr. Southcombe, of Stoke-sub-Lawden; Rev. W. Clarkson, of Salisbury; Rev. D. Griffiths, of Fairfield; Rev. G. Robinson, of Berkeley; and the Rev. G. Whaithe, of Bath.

The CHAIRMAN took his seat at half-past two in the afternoon, accompanied by the deputation from the Executive Committee, which consisted of Mr. Allanson Picton, M.A., Mr. Carvell Williams, Mr. G. Potter, and Mr. H. S. Leonard; the Rev. H. Crosskey attending the evening meeting. He regretted that he should occupy the post instead of Mr. E. S. Robinson, a letter from whom, regretting his inability to attend, from indisposition, he read.

On the motion of the Rev. U. THOMAS, and MR. NICHOLSON, the Rev. W. Clarkson, of Salisbury, and Mr. D. Basset, of Bristol, were elected secretaries of the Conference.

The CHAIRMAN then said: You are aware that this Conference is one of a series to be held throughout the country, and I doubt not we all feel that this society is entering upon one of the most important epochs of its existence. The presence of so many gentlemen here to-day testifies to the existence of such a feeling, and I trust that the interchange of views at this and similar meetings will encourage the timid, strengthen the weak, and give an impetus to the great object this society has in view; also that each successive conference will gather accumulated strength from its predecessors. (Hear, hear.) As I understand it, the great fundamental principle of this society is religious equality. (Applause.) The principle where it is involved must be fully recognised in all future legislation on ecclesiastical questions. We have seen in the working of the Education Act how a departure from that principle leads to discord and trouble. It may be urged that that Act was a compromise. Well, gentlemen, compromise and concession in matters of detail may be all very well, but compromise of principle is quite another thing. (Hear, hear.) That compromise did not settle the religious difficulty, and the difficulty never will be settled until this principle of religious equality is fully recognised and acted upon. (Applause.) Mr. Richard stated the other evening that the Endowed Schools Act brought forward by the present Ministry in the last session of Parliament was "only the logical development of the principle embodied in the measure of Mr. Forster." (Hear, hear.) That is a fact we should do well to lay to heart, because it is one evidence of the mischief that will surely be worked if we consent to any further compromise of this principle of religious equality. (Hear, hear.) It has been questioned if the present is a suitable time for active operations on the part of this society. But if disestablishment is a subject is spoken of by dignitaries of the State-Church, and referred to by others, as a possible door of escape from anarchy, surely this is not the time for the friends of the Liberation Society to sit still, with folded hands and silent tongues. (Hear, hear.) The public will look to us as the natural leaders in the movement, and therefore it is imperative that we set before the country in the most definite manner what our views are, and what we mean by disestablishment and disendowment. (Hear.) We cannot tell how soon this question may come to the front—the shadow of the event is come to the front even now. What did Mr. Fawcett say the other night in his stirring speech at Hackney? He "felt bound to tell his constituents that at the present time his chief fear was that the disestablishment question might be hurried on before they were prepared for it." (Hear, hear.) The remarkable events also transpiring within the pale of the Establishment warn us to be on the alert, so that when disestablishment becomes the question of the day we may be fully prepared to take our part in the discussion of so national a question. When we find not a few of the clergy of the Establishment repudiating the name of Protestant; when we see sacerdotalism, like a cold November fog, creeping over the land; poisoning with its chilling and miasmatic influence the very springs of our Christian faith and hope; when the confessional is threatening danger to the peace of our homes, and when materialistic doctrines, paving the way to infidelity, are daily taught—(Hear, hear)—is not the time come for a great Protestant shout to go up from the length and breadth of this land—a shout that shall find an echo within the walls of St. Stephen's? (Applause.) It has been said that we shall divide the Liberal party if we urge our views with too much pertinacity. We have no wish to divide the Liberal party; but if the leaders of that party will throw over the immoral principle of concurrent endowment, and will step up into the purer atmosphere of our platform, they will feel wonderfully braced and strengthened. (Hear, hear.) But I submit that this is not a party question at all; it stands on a higher eminence than that of party politics. (Applause.) It has a religious as well as a social bearing; and we cannot help, while we are not responsible for, its dual character. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Gladstone thought he had put an extinguisher upon Mr. Miall's motion on this subject; but the night that has succeeded will not be a long one. Do we not even now see streaks of light along the horizon, betokening the dawn of the day that ushers in the liberation of religion from all State patronage and control? and when that morn shall fully break forth, shall we not find that we have no enemies to fight, but instead we shall see a discomfited host, wrangling among themselves about the wedges of gold and the Babylonish garments. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) The thirty years' conscientious labours of Mr. Miall have not been barren of results. (Applause.) The harvest of such seed-sowing is sure, and it is near. (Hear, hear.) Never has there been a time when the friends of religious freedom had so much cause to take heart and press forward as now. Many of the impediments to our progress have been swept away, and when the goal shall be reached, then will the Church of Christ be free indeed, and not be in bondage to any man. (Applause.)

Mr. J. ALLANSON PICTON, M.A., was the first speaker, and he was very well received. His topic was, "The present position of the Disestablishment question." He said that the chairman had very aptly observed that if the actual question of disestablishment and disendowment was not itself in the front line of political questions at present, at least

its shadow was upon them. (Hear, hear.) In the year 1871, in opposing Mr. Miall's motion, Mr. Disraeli said that every year that motion would be made—if made at all—under worse auspices and with diminishing prospects of success. Only three years had elapsed since that time, and last week, Mr. Fawcett, who, he thought, understood practical questions of politics as well as most people, expressed deliberately his fear that the necessity of disestablishment would be upon them before ever any practical scheme of disendowment had been sufficiently matured. (Hear, hear.) No sooner had Mr. Fawcett spoken than every Parliamentary orator—if he might call those "orators" who never spoke in Parliament—(laughter)—thought it necessary to deprecate Mr. Fawcett's rashness and violence. The London Standard mourned that a generally philosophical statesman should descend to the low level of vulgar rant and demagogism. The Times evidently regarded the utterances of Mr. Fawcett as most ominous. The Daily News, as they knew, gave a little more attention to the subject than, he was sorry to say, it was in the habit of doing, and said that the question had somehow floated upon a noiselessly rising tide of influence. And the Spectator, which was a highly respectable and most superior paper in its way—(laughter)—and never was very violent or decided in its views, except in favour of the Established Church, made the remark that everybody, Whig, Tory, and Radical, seemed to have disestablishment on the brain. (Loud laughter.) Now what was the reason of this remarkable movement—for most remarkable he took it to be—in progress towards disestablishment? There were many reasons for it, and he should select three on which to make one or two remarks. The first of these had been already alluded to—he meant the universal obtrusion of the relations of the Church and State on public attention by the promulgation of the Vatican decrees. They knew what a disturbance these decrees had made on the continent of Europe, and especially in Germany. Opinions and sympathies were necessarily to a considerable extent divided on the very remarkable policy of the great statesman who presided over the destinies of the German Empire. On the one hand, they could not but sympathise with his opposition, and the opposition of the Protestant people of Germany, to the domineering pretensions of the Papacy. On the other hand, they were naturally sensitive to any attempt to put down religious opinions, however objectionable to themselves, by physical force. They knew, however, that the complications which existed in that country evidently rested upon a too close alliance between the Church and the State. If they contrasted the state of things in the Empire of Germany and what existed, for instance, in America, any impartial observer must at once be struck with the stupendous difference that was made in the condition of any country by a total separation between the spiritual interests of the Church and the secular interests of the State. (Hear, hear.) He supposed that the Pope had a very considerable number of "spiritual subjects," as they might be called, in the United States of America. If he sympathised with him he should say he feared that his hold upon them was continually relaxing in vigour—(Hear, hear)—he should fear that when once they touched that land of freedom and progress, they began to feel how opposed to all modern ideas were the pretensions of the Papacy. But still, he had a considerable number of professed adherents in the United States of America. Well, they heard a great deal of political agitation in America—a sort of political movement that some of them did not altogether like. But, one never heard any anxiety expressed as to the influence of the Papacy in the United States. One never heard any fears expressed lest the Roman Catholics there should prefer allegiance to the Pope to the allegiance they owed to the Republic to which they belonged. On the other hand, in Germany a very great fear actuated the statesmen of that country lest the spirited influence of the Papacy should tear asunder the unity which has been established at such a stupendous cost. What was the reason? Manifestly that in the one case in the United States they had seen how it was perfectly possible to separate the interests of the two, the Church and State; whilst on the other hand, Germany could scarcely conceive it possible, and the result was that they were involved in anxieties and perplexities the end of which certainly did not appear yet. They were not, however, concerned with any foreign politics—he had only alluded to them to show how the publication of the Vatican decrees had forced on the consideration of the relation of Church and State in different parts of the world. (Hear, hear.) The next reason that seemed to him to press that question prominently forward at the present time was the development of diametrically opposed tides of zeal within the bosom of the Established Church of England. (Hear, hear.) The speaker went on to refer to Bishop Ellicott's description of the condition of affairs within the Church, and, in referring to him, he said he could not for a moment forget the debt which he, in common with many other students of the Bible, owed to him as a Biblical scholar. (Applause.) He could not refrain from expressing his admiration of the unusual manliness and straightforwardness with which he had treated of the existing state of things between Church and State. (Hear, hear.) The platform of the Liberation Society was not the proper place for discussing the doctrines held by the Ritualistic party; his argument was rather to point to the diametrically

opposed tides of zeal flowing from both sides of the Church, and when they met they might expect a tolerable amount of uproar and trouble—a considerable amount of froth and foam. (Hear, hear.) They saw a good deal of that at present. (Hear, hear.) Passing on to refer to some remarks of Mr. Disraeli, he spoke of the right hon. gentleman as a remarkable prophet whose prophecies generally turned out right because his words bore various interpretations. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) Mr. Disraeli had said, let the Church remain tolerant, temperate, and comprehensive, and then it will be truly national. "Do not let it suppose that every party that rises in its bosom—and parties have risen in its bosom ever since the days of Jerusalem—is an assembly of heretics; let it remember that some will take refuge in symbols and ceremonies, while others would find refuge in the inspiration of enthusiasm." And at the same time Mr. Disraeli had found it expedient to adopt the Public Worship Bill, upon the principle that it was devised to put down Ritualism. (Applause.) Another reason that forced disestablishment upon their consideration was the abolition of patronage in the Established Church of Scotland. (Hear.) The speaker then remarked that he now came to a most remarkable and significant item in the present position of affairs. He alluded to the peculiar influence that the Vatican decrees had exercised over the mind of Mr. Gladstone. (Cheers.) Mr. Gladstone had signalled his political literary career by three almost equally remarkable productions. The first was a youthful production—the "Essay on the Church in its Relation to the State." In that essay, which was characterised by all the genius which had since asserted itself in politics, Mr. Gladstone maintained that it was the duty of the State to support the Church because the Church taught the truth. Years went on, and Mr. Gladstone came to see that, at any rate in Ireland, the endeavour of the State to maintain the truth, as he regarded it, was connected with many insuperable difficulties, and he was convinced—and if there was an admirable spectacle in the world it was that of a man who had the courage to acknowledge his errors, and the still greater to turn back upon his own footsteps and reverse his own policy in obedience to conscience—(Hear, hear)—he became convinced that it was necessary in the interests of justice and righteousness, and in the interests of the happy union of England and Ireland, to disestablish the Protestant Episcopal Church there. (Applause.) At that time he thought it desirable to put forward the experience of his own mind in relation to that subject, and to publish that well-known Chapter of Autobiography. There he showed that, if there was in his actions an apparent inconsistency, there was likewise a deeper consistency, which he (the speaker) thought all fair-minded persons must acknowledge. (Hear, hear.) Having detailed the reasons which Mr. Gladstone gave for the course which he had pursued, he went on to say that the Pope had promulgated some very astounding decrees as to his own infallibility, and his power over the secular governments of the world. He (the speaker) told them honestly that, with all respect to Mr. Gladstone's transparent sincerity, he could scarcely believe that, for some mere ill-tempered remarks on the part of a few Romanist bishops here and there upon that statesman's article in the *Contemporary Review*, Mr. Gladstone would have been induced to take the trouble to write his pamphlet. He could not help thinking that there was a good deal more underneath. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Gladstone saw clearly enough that the promulgation of these Vatican decrees had really pressed upon people's attention in quite a new form the question of the relations of Church and State. And there were various remarks scattered throughout his pamphlet that seemed to him to have a very profound significance. He did not wish to say that Mr. Gladstone had made up his mind one way or the other—but he did say that Mr. Gladstone had given utterance in that pamphlet to certain principles which could only be carried out consistently by a complete separation between Church and State. For instance, he said at page 10—"All other Christian bodies—apart from the Romanist—are content with freedom in their own religious domain." He wished they were. (Laughter.) Mr. Gladstone continued—"Orientals, Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Nonconformists, one and all, in the present day contentedly and thankfully accepted the benefit of civil order; never pretend that the State is not its own master"—except when it wanted to alter the rubrics—(loud laughter)—"make no religious claims to temporal possessions or advantages." What did this imply? why, it implied that the property was held on other grounds, and not on religious claims—(Hear, hear)—and if on other grounds, it followed that if the property should be devoted to other uses religious claims could not stand in the way. (Applause.) Mr. Gladstone continued—"and consequently never are in perilous collision with the State." Then, on page forty of the pamphlet, Mr. Gladstone said, "Our Saviour had recognised as distinct the two provinces of the civil rule and the Church; had nowhere intimated that the spiritual authority was to claim the disposal of physical force"—the use of physical force, for instance, for obtaining Dominicals and Church-rates—(loud laughter)—"had nowhere intimated that the spiritual authority was to claim the disposal of physical force, and to control in its own domain the authority which is alone responsible for external peace, order, and safety among civilised

communities of men. It has been alike the peculiarity, the pride, and misfortune of the Roman Church among Christian communities to allow to itself an unbounded use, as far as its powers would go, of earthly instruments for spiritual ends." Well, he did not know that that was a "peculiarity" of the Romish Church, but if Mr. Gladstone said so it must be. (Laughter.) But he had always thought that the Episcopal Church in England had played a considerable part in passing such laws as the "Conventicle Act," the "Five Mile Act," and a considerable number of others of the same sort. (Hear, hear.) It was quite evident that Mr. Gladstone in his own view believed that the assertion of any such powers was peculiarly Romanist; and that every Protestant person had to stand altogether aloof from the use of physical power. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) Again, at page sixty-four of the pamphlet, speaking of a future policy—for as they all knew he was coming back to power in a comparatively short time—(laughter)—he said, "The State will, I trust, be very careful to leave the domain of religious conscience free, and yet to keep it to its own domain, and to allow neither private caprice, nor, above all, foreign arrogance to dictate, to it in the discharge of its proper office." Well, he thought if Mr. Gladstone when he came back to office carried out his own prophecy, the State would have to be careful to leave the domain of religious conscience free—(cheers)—it would have to take away every weight which pressed in the scale for decision between one religious opinion and another—it would assert religious equality—(Hear, hear)—would take away all the patronage, all the lustre—or supposed lustre—of State connection, which cast such a glamour over one religion, while it threw all others into the shade. (Hear, hear.) He thought that these different circumstances to which he had called attention did press upon them fresh considerations as to the present relations of the Church to the State. Referring to Mr. Fawcett, who had expressed his fear lest disestablishment should come upon them before the question of disendowment was matured, the speaker said deliberately that disestablishment without disendowment—without thorough disendowment—would be merely a piece of wickedness. It would be little short of madness. Let them note the working of almost all great public reforms and movements of progress, and they would find that their final achievement was generally marked by three steps, apart from the preliminary conviction of the righteousness of the reform, which was supposed to have taken place before. That being premised, public opinion had to become thoroughly familiarised with the idea. (Hear, hear.) The British public, he thought, with all respect, was something like a horse that was in the habit of shying. (Laughter.) It had the endurance, the pluck, and many other good qualities of the horse, but, like the horse, if anything were brought too suddenly before it, it would start, and very likely would throw its rider. (Laughter.) But if they carefully led the horse up to the strange and startling object—(laughter)—if they let him smell it and feel it with his lips a little, he got quite thoroughly accustomed to it, and the probability was that he would get quite to like it after a bit. (Laughter.) And so it was with the British public—they wanted to get thoroughly familiarised with an idea, as well as to be convinced of its abstract righteousness and propriety. (Applause.) Then, after that, there was universally a tendency to say, "How do you mean to carry it out? What will you do with this? Where will you put the money? How will you conduct the operations? and so on. They wanted in this matter a definite plan. And then, thirdly, there was necessary some apparently accidental occasion for action. For instance, public opinion was tolerably ripened with regard to free trade—public opinion had become tolerably familiarised with free trade—and had been instructed by Mr. Cobden as to the mode in which it should be carried out; but had it not been for the Irish famine, it probably would not have been carried out then. (Hear, hear.) It was apparently the accidental occasion which gave it a sudden start, and so it was with a considerable number of reforms. Now, the first step to familiarise the public mind with the idea of disestablishment and disendowment was tolerably well accomplished. At any moment the accidental occasion for disestablishment might arise. They could not tell when Convocation would be in conflict with Parliament—it was impossible to predict it. The bishops, as most men did who had so much State power, were prudent and modest; and at least, so far as regarded the authority of Parliament, it was not likely the Upper House would come into collision with Parliament. It was by no means impossible, however, when they saw the sort of furore that possessed a section in the Establishment in the Lower House, that they might practically come in collision with the Imperial authority; and then there was only one step, and that was disestablishment. (Cheers.) They never could tell when it might come, and what they had to lament was that the second step—namely, the proposal of a definite plan of disendowment—had scarcely been accomplished yet. Admitting that there were difficulties in carrying out and developing the plan, he yet hoped that it would be the feeling of that conference that the time had come when a definite plan for thorough disendowment, as well as disestablishment, should be propounded—possibly in the form of a tentative bill. (Hear, hear.) They had to deal with a considerable amount of national property—he said national, notwithstanding the objection taken to

that by Mr. Freeman; and he used the words national property, not in a technical, but in a popular sense. They meant by that property which might without injustice, and without any shock to public confidence, be applied to any purpose for the interests of the nation at large. (Cheers.) Speaking simply upon his own responsibility, and not in any degree involving the leaders of the Liberation Society, he would venture to suggest that there were only two conceivable applications of the national property existing in the Church which were likely to be feasible in the present day. The first of these was, "the promotion of national education." And then the idea had run in his own mind that the money might be "sunk"—not in the depths of the sea, but in the national debt, which would indirectly affect education and all national enterprise, because it would set free the taxpayer to a considerable extent, and would reduce taxation very perceptibly; and thus it would be indirectly applied to the purposes of education. At any rate, he only threw this out a hint. Finally, he hoped the feeling of the conference would be that whatever course that movement might take in the future, its tone must be distinctly political. He meant by this that it must not be sectarian—he meant that it must not necessarily be exclusively of a religious kind. There were a very large number of them who supported that movement on conscientious religious conviction, believing that it was for the interest of religion and Christianity that the Church should be separated from the State—(Hear, hear)—and there were a large number of people in this country taking a warm interest in political subjects who would not agree with this, but who were at one with them on the political point. At the same time, there were thousands of the working classes who seemed as if they could not understand the question, or who would not take any interest in it when it was put in that way before them. Many of them, as was found by experience, would regard it as a sort of squabble between the Church and the sects outside the Church. He thought it was quite time that all should come to understand it as a political question, and that it was a distinct political object that they had in view—(cheers)—the disentanglement of the most perplexing and harassing relation between the Church and the State—an obstacle in the way of progress, which hampered the nation at almost every step it took, and was the prolific parent of hundreds of cases of injustice in all directions. (Cheers.) The question in this form was being pressed upon their attention, and he hoped that this conference in Bristol would be the beginning of the end. (Mr. Picton was followed throughout with the closest attention, and was loudly cheered when he closed.)

The Rev. A. N. BLATCHFORD, of Bristol, then moved:—

That this conference observes with the greatest satisfaction the extent to which the question of Church Establishment now engages public attention, and the tendency of events within the Established Churches to hasten—what the conference believes to be the only solution of existing difficulties—the abandonment by the State of all attempts to regulate the affairs of religious institutions, and the adoption of the principle of perfect religious equality.

If there was one thing that the society might congratulate itself upon at the present time, it would be found, he believed, to be in the wider ground that it was now taking. There was a large influx of sympathy coming to it from a wider area, and therefore its prospects of success were not only growing clearer, but very much nearer too. He was afraid that the society was for a long time unthinkingly regarded as a channel for the manifestation of the mere differences between Church and Chapel, and was thought to be a way by which Dissenters might air their grievances. (Hear, hear.) The great question which had drawn them together that day was, he believed, becoming more and more of a national question. Notwithstanding all that vested interests could do and had done, the question had found an entrance into the Houses of Parliament, and by the calm, persistent, and judicious way it had been handled had compelled the attention of its worst opponents. (Hear, hear.) Allies were springing up on all sides—(applause)—and if they could sift the Established Church they would find allies even there. Conscientious Churchmen were growing impatient of, and viewed with increasing aversion, the prospect held out before them—the prospect of the determination not only of questions of Church discipline, but of questions of Church doctrine, by a body so thoroughly incompetent to deal with such subjects as the British House of Commons. (Applause.) The idea of a National Church was, he believed, a proved impossibility—(Hear, hear)—and in the very claim to be the National Church it seemed to him that the Church of England, as she stood now, politically challenged the attention of the people of England. In addition to that fact, claiming to be the National Church she must consent to be dealt with by the nation—(Hear, hear)—and, moreover, when they knew that she was really not the National Church that she claimed to be, then not merely as a Dissenter, but as a subject of this realm, that it was nothing but a work of righteousness to see to it that a Church which was not the Church of the whole nation should be brought as soon as possible to vacate that throne of political prestige which she could no longer occupy without doing violence to the feelings and consciences of a good half of the people of this land. (Cheers.)

The Rev. G. W. HUMPHREYS (Wellington) seconded the motion. He argued that the state of things now to be found in the Established Church

—the undisguised Romanism which there existed—was forcing the people of this country to look at the question of disestablishment. Other things had contributed to the like end. Alluding to the Public Worship Act, he remarked upon the fact that no provision was made in that measure to prevent the practices therein contemplated from being carried on in chapels-of-ease; and said he knew an instance in which, within the last few weeks, the foundation-stone of a chapel-of-ease was laid in order that those Ritualistic practices might be carried on which the Act condemns and prohibits in the parish church.

Mr. T. SMITH (Hereford) briefly supported the resolution.

After a verbal objection to the motion, which was not concurred in by the conference, the motion was carried.

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS then delivered a short address on the plans of the executive committee of the society. He said that it would be a strange thing if an organisation thirty years old had not discovered that it was desirable to make some change in the method of its procedure, and it would be still stranger if that society was the Liberation Society, having regard to the great change which had taken place in the position of the disestablishment question. They had had from Mr. Picton a luminous account of the politico-ecclesiastical questions of the day, but he had been recalling, whilst listening to him, the state of things which himself and his colleagues had to contend with in the early days of the agitation. Having referred to some of these, he said that it was so far from being true that the society's change of front was a confession of the failure of its previous proceedings, that, if it had to begin again to-morrow, under the same circumstances, he did not know that it could adopt a better method. For it had first to appeal to Nonconformists, who held its principles, or who almost required to be converted to their professed principles. Having succeeded in that—(a laugh)—they next addressed themselves to Episcopalians; who were now coming over to them in shoals. Now they had simply come to another stage, when they had to appeal to the nation, which must settle that and all other great national questions; and, seeing their duty clearly, they wished to address themselves to that duty not only in a broad, catholic spirit, but in a practical spirit also. They were going to emerge from the field of mere controversy into that of political agitation, with a great object in view. (Cheers.) The one object for which the Liberation Society has existed was the return of a Parliament which should bring about disestablishment. (Applause.) He did not say what their duty would be at the next election; but he did say that their object was to create such a state of public feeling that when the Liberal party again came into power—(applause)—they would feel it not only to be their duty to take the subject in hand, but to do it joyously. (Applause.) Mr. W. then described the committee's plans—already made public—adding the further information that the request of the Manchester Conference had been so far complied with that a special committee had been appointed with a view to the ultimate preparation of a scheme of disestablishment and disendowment. That special committee has continued the work, a task before it of far greater difficulty than many of you suppose. Do not, therefore, be impatient, while it is collecting all the requisite facts and deliberating on the subject with all the carefulness which, from its complexity and magnitude, it involves. (Hear, hear.) And when a scheme is forthcoming let it be examined with dispassionateness, and do not be surprised if it turn out to be something very different from what you expected. You may rely upon it that a good many old notions will have to be revised, or abandoned, if this great problem is to be satisfactorily solved. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion, the speaker urged that while the committee were preparing to satisfy the people who had been converted, or nearly converted, to disestablishment, they must go on endeavouring to convert others, so that when the scheme was ready they would have a large number of their countrymen who would be prepared to give it an intelligent consideration. (Applause.) He had now told their plans openly, for they were not conspirators working in secret for an object of which they were ashamed. (Hear, hear.) They could afford to be frank and above board. They never expected, nor wished, to carry their point except as the result of national conviction; and they knew that national conviction would not be secured without much hard work and much patience. (Applause.) One of the sources of their strength had been that they had been a well-disciplined army, which had had faith in its leaders, and in the goodness of its aims; he trusted that that spirit would be displayed until the end. (Loud applause.)

After Mr. HARRIS, of Colne, had handed in a resolution of the local committee, expressing approval of the society's action, and had urged the importance of action in the villages.

Mr. SOUTHCORBE (of Stoke-sub-Hamden) moved the second resolution, in a brief speech, viz.:—

That this conference has heard with entire approval a statement of the recent proceedings and of the proposed plans of the Executive Committee for extending the society's operations, and for adapting those operations to the present position of the disestablishment question. More especially it expresses an earnest hope that the proposal to raise a fund of 100,000*l.* for the next five years, will be promptly and liberally responded to by the society's supporters in this and in every other district of the country.

The Rev. E. J. HARTLAND (Bristol), who seconded the resolution, bore testimony to the cool judgment, great discretion, and the large amount of wisdom which had been displayed by those who were at the head of the affairs of that society. (Applause.) He had heard it said that, looking at the present state of affairs in the Established Church, it would be a wise thing for the society to withdraw a little into the shade, and leave the work to parties within the Established Church, who would do it far better and far more rapidly than they who were outside could do it. He held that to be a very great mistake—(applause)—and hoped that the society would never cease its work until, at least, that question was raised into a national question, and had been adopted by that great party with whom they were in the habit of acting. (Cheers.) When they had educated the Liberal party of this country up to the position the society occupied now, he thought it might then be a question worthy of consideration whether they should not retire a little, and hand over the whole question to the care of the Liberal party. (Loud cries of "No, no.") In the meantime there was an immense deal for the society to do before the Liberal party could be in such a condition that it could be safely trusted with such a question as this. (Hear, hear.) It had to educate the people not only as to the general question of disestablishment, but as to the kind of disestablishment upon which alone they should insist, and with which alone they would be satisfied. He was pleased to find that the directors of that society had it in contemplation to draft a bill which should embody their sentiments. That bill might never become the law of the land, but it might very considerably help the framers of a bill which should by-and-by become the law of the land—(Hear, hear)—and he should like the draft of that bill circulated throughout the country, so that all people might clearly understand their exact position. He should like the society's agents to be so distributed over the West of England that there should not be a village, however small, into which the light of the society should not be introduced. It was in the villages that the deadly influence of the Establishment principle was most seriously felt. (Applause.) He was quite sure that there were thousands of men in those villages who only needed to be carefully instructed to raise them to the position which the friends of the society occupied today. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. C. TOWNSEND (Bristol) remarked that after the last election a Conservative friend of his remarked that they would not hear very much more of the Liberation Society. He thought they might be thoroughly satisfied that the amount of interest which was felt in the great question of the liberation of religion from State patronage and control was intensely, and constantly, on the increase. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. WARD (Ross) took exception to the word "laymen" made of by the last speaker. (Laughter.)

Mr. T. NICHOLSON (Forest of Dean) did not think that the 100,000 ought to come wholly from wealthy men. There were ten thousand Nonconformist congregations in the country, and if each of them contributed 10s., the amount might be made up without difficulty. (Hear, hear.) He was the pastor of two small churches, and would undertake that his plural bishopric should give 10s. towards the fund. (Hear, hear.) Referring to an objection taken to the first resolutions, he said that, while he did not rejoice that there were Ritualists and Rationalists in the Establishment, he did rejoice that they had quarrelled. (Cheers and laughter.) The motion was then carried.

Mr. G. H. LEONARD, of Bristol, then moved the following resolution:—

That this conference expresses its concurrence in the request of the conference lately held at Manchester, that the executive committee will consider the best steps to be taken for preparing a statement of the legal changes involved in disestablishment, and of the principles and methods which should be adopted in disendowing the Established Churches. He moved that resolution the more readily because he had for years felt the importance of having a definite scheme to lay before their friends and the public. Their opponents had charged them with all kinds of spoliation, which were altogether removed from the intentions of their executive. (Hear, hear.) The Liberation Society addressed itself to Englishmen, who boast of being a practical people, and liked to see how a principle can be carried out in detail before they committed themselves to that principle. He much regretted that a scheme was not proposed before; for, if it had been, the Irish Church Act would not have been such an abortion as it was. It would not have been possible then to pass an Act by which that Church was re-endowed and in a sense re-established. (Hear, hear.) The Premier had wit enough to see that the sooner the question came on, the better terms he would be able to make for the clergy; and if he could only "educate" his party, he (the speaker) should not be surprised if he would bring in a bill for disestablishment, and thus "dish the Whigs" while they were considering about it. (Laughter.) He advised that, as regarded the question of disendowment, if they erred at all, let it be on the side of liberality; but he thought it would be an error of judgment if their scheme went much beyond strict justice. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. J. P. ALLEN (Gloucester), in seconding the resolution, alluded to the statement of Mr.

Picton that the action of that society should proceed upon a political basis, and pointed out that there were some serious difficulties in their path, arising from religious sentiments and convictions, especially with regard to the question of disendowment, and referred to the difficulty sometimes raised as regarded the villages. He was asked not long ago by a dignitary of the Church, "If you disestablish the Church, what is to become of the villages?" That question was not put in apostolic times. If the Church were disestablished, what, he might ask, was to become of all those gentlemen of culture now holding the position of clergymen in the villages? Would they relinquish the work when the emoluments ceased? or would they have a higher motive and stick to it? (Hear, hear.) All the tendencies of the present day seemed to be towards more keenly discriminating between things ecclesiastical and things religious; and yet, with all that, there was on every hand a deepening spirit of religion. (Cheers.) They could see it outside the Establishment in the activities and the worship of the free churches, and they could also see it within the Establishment. Quoting an utterance of Archbishop Manning, to the effect that "The Catholic Church of this land is a poor Church, and I pray God she may ever continue to be so—for when a Church becomes influential and wealthy it too often happens she becomes indolent and corrupt," he said if Dr. Manning was willing that the Church should have no great amount of wealth, and would only that his Church should have no temporal power and no unreasoning, unjust social status, it seemed to him that they might almost claim him as a colleague. (Cheers and laughter.)

Mr. H. SELFE LEONARD, of London, supported the resolution in a short speech.

Mr. HANDEL COSSHAM believed that they were nearer to the solution of the question than many persons thought, and on the way in which they settled that great controversy would largely depend the future of our country. (Hear, hear.) He did not want to see it settled on mere political issues, or to see statesmen merely using the question as a stepping-stone to power; he wanted to see it settled on principles of justice to the Church, and to the nation. (Cheers.) The Church of England was part of the nation, and though perhaps they and he had been rather refractory members, they were members notwithstanding; they were part of the Church, and the history of the Church was the history of the nation; and such a question as that would have to be settled on principles of justice and not by mere clap-trap. He derived much satisfaction from seeing that the mind of Mr. Gladstone was brought to the consideration of this question—(cheers)—and now he was brought face to face with priestcraft, he would find that he could not put down this priestcraft, which was aiming at the very throat of the nation, without destroying the present status of the State-clergy—(cheers)—and the priestly systems of this country. In conclusion, he spoke of the Church property in lands and tithes as having originally been left for the good of the poor, while the Church had now turned over the poor to them and had retained the property. (Laughter.) He thought if the question in this light were thoroughly understood in the counties and rural districts, they would have the counties with them. (Applause.)

Mr. WARD (Ross) said that although it was true that the Church lands, and the tithes, were originally for the poor, he protested against any suggestion in the present day to give over the Church lands to pay the poor-rates, as such a course would be simply giving the lands to the aristocracy. (Laughter and cheers.) As soon as the farmers were relieved of the rates their rents would be raised by their landlords, and the actual benefit of the Church property would thus go to the landlords. (Hear, hear.) It was a most unstatesmanlike proposition.

Mr. NICHOLSON having protested against Mr. Picton's suggestion of devoting the funds of the Established Church to educational endowments, of which he thought they had ample experience already, the resolution was carried.

Thanks to the deputation were then given on the motion of Mr. G. SULLY, of Bridgwater, and Mr. LLOYD, of Bristol; and also to the chairman, on the motion of Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS and Mr. POTTER, and the conference was dissolved at half-past five. The members then took tea together in an adjoining room, prior to the public meeting at night.

THE PUBLIC MEETING.

This was held in the large hall, which holds 3,000 people; but, owing to the unfavourable character of the weather (the rain falling in torrents), the hall was not more than half full. A large number of gentlemen were on the platform.

Mr. HERBERT THOMAS presided, and, in a thoughtful opening speech, said that the Liberation Society not only had done much in enlightening the public opinion of the country—not only had it imbued the Nonconformists with the principles of disestablishment, but they found at the present moment that even throughout the varied sections of the Church of England itself the cry of disestablishment was used in turn by the different sections within her pale. (Hear, hear.) As an illustration of the fact that Churchmen took upon themselves, in addition to the privileges which unjust laws gave them, an assumption of superiority over

all others who did not choose to belong to the Church of England, he referred to such language as that used by Mr. Wait, M.P., at the Dolphin dinner. The toast of the bishop and clergy of the diocese was proposed; and what did Mr. Wait say? He said, "I am glad that this toast is given in an unamplified form, and that it has the true ring about it, which it has not when certain additions are given to it; and I hope that always at the Dolphin dinner the toast will be given in this form." He contended that the Liberation Society, by the course it was pursuing was endeavouring to work for the highest interests of religion.

Mr. Handel Cossam, the Rev. E. G. Gange, of Bristol, and Mr. Potter, of London, followed in vigorous speeches. Mr. Picton succeeded, speaking briefly, but ably. Then Mr. PINNEGAR, a working man, who spoke of himself as a Wesleyan, moved as an amendment, "That the Church be not disestablished until some guarantee be proved that the power now held by Protestants in England be not transferred to Rome." (Cheers, laughter, and uproar.) He spoke in a wild kind of way, saying, among other things, that there was an Established Church in America! After some noise, the motion was seconded, put, and rejected; less than two score voting for it. There was a body of opponents present, and their exclamations were frequent throughout.

Then another amendment was moved, viz., "That this meeting, whilst agreeing that various abuses exist in the Church of England, both in its discipline and the appointment of its ministers, declines to endorse the opinion that it ought to be disestablished and disendowed and its funds appropriated to secular purposes." (Applause and dissent.)

After Mr. PETHICK had expressed, as a member of the local committee, disapproval of some of the things said by one of the speakers.

The Rev. H. W. CROSSKEY, of Birmingham, delivered a brief but eloquent and otherwise effective speech in which he expressed his earnest belief that the religious life of the nation would be infinitely sweetened, deepened, widened, and ennobled by the policy for which that society contended.

The amendment was then rejected by a large majority, only between twenty and thirty hands being held up in its favour. The Chairman, before putting the original resolution, said that the meeting pledged itself only to the words of the resolution, and not to the sentiments of any speaker which he might have thought it right to utter in enforcing them.

The Rev. J. P. ALLEN (of Gloucester) moved the appointment of officers and committee for the current year; which Mr. W. P. SIBBES seconded.

The resolution having been carried, a vote of thanks to the chairman was, on the motion of Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS, adopted with acclamation, and what had been a very lively meeting came to a close.

APPROACHING MEETINGS.—The third of the district conferences is to be held next Tuesday at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Carvell Williams, and the Rev. Marmaduke Miller are to represent the executive committee, and Mr. Owen, M.P., Sir Henry Havelock, M.P., and Mr. Bart, M.P., are among those likely to be present. On the Monday night a *soirée* is to be held at Sunderland, and during the week Mr. Miller is to lecture there and at other towns in the district. Next week the society commences its meetings in Scotland; the first being at Edinburgh on Tuesday, and the others at Dundee, Glasgow, Perth, and Aberdeen on the following nights. Dr. Edmond, of London, and Dr. Cairns, of Berwick, are to address the Edinburgh and Glasgow meetings, and Mr. Carvell Williams is also to attend four of the meetings—which are looked forward to with much interest.

THE DISESTABLISHMENT MOVEMENT.

BRADFORD.—On Monday of last week a large audience assembled at the Lecture Hall of the Mechanics' Institute, Bradford, to hear a lecture of Mr. J. H. Gordon in reply to one recently delivered by Mr. Lyon in connection with the Bradford Church Defence Association. Mr. Alfred Illingworth occupied the chair, and among others present were Mr. Titus Salt, Mr. Charles Stead, Mr. A. Holden, Mr. William Watson, Mr. J. Priestman, the Rev. J. Haley, Mr. W. Whitehead, Mr. E. Thomas, Mr. James Hanson, Mr. R. Taylor, Mr. J. Boothroyd, Mr. J. R. Tennant, Mr. B. Illingworth, &c. After the delivery of the chairman's speech, Mr. Gordon delivered his lecture, which travelled over a wide ground. At the conclusion the chairman invited questions or discussion. A number of questions were asked by Mr. B. H. Boardman, the nature of which may be gathered generally from the lecturer's replies—

Mr. GORDON, in reply to the first question, said that the Liberation Society would not have the settlement of the property question; the public would have to decide it, but he believed that the supporters of the Liberation Society only wished that the right thing should be done. (Hear, hear.) There was one mistake, however, which it seemed to him underlay all Mr. Boardman's questions, which was that he seemed to suppose that something called the Church of England was a possession of cer-

tain property. Now, that was exactly what he (the speaker) denied; that was the point which he was there to argue. (Hear, hear.) There was nothing called the Church of England which the State of England would allow to possess, independent of the State, a single penny piece. (Hear, hear.) If his Church friends doubted that, let them build a church and endow it, and hand it over to the Church of England, as it was called, to certain State officials, who would hold it for whom? For themselves? They would not pretend that they would that. For the Church of England apart from the State? Not at all, but on behalf of a Parliamentary commission, to whom would have to be handed over the whole of the building and the property before the State, would allow its servant, the bishop, to come down and consecrate the building at all. (Applause.) But the Liberatorians were in favour—or at any rate he believed they were, so far as it could be shown that any property had been made over as a gift for a special purpose—of an arrangement being come to for that property to be given to anything that should be constituted an Episcopal Church. However, he should say that the society's plan in reference to this subject was at present under consideration, and in a short time he would be better able to say what they advocated in that matter more definitely than he could now. But when private donations were shown of that kind, he certainly thought that the wish of the donor should be consulted, especially in cases where donors still lived. For instance, there was the case of Colonel Akroyd, of Halifax, who had built and endowed a church in that town—and there were cases of the same kind in Bradford—where he should say that the property might be handed back to the donor that he might do as he liked with it. (Hear, hear.) At the same time, it would never become the duty of the State to constitute an episcopal church for the purpose of disposing of this property to them. (Hear, hear.) Then, as to the question about the property of Dissenters, and the Act of 1844, all he would say was that, if it could be shown that the Church of England had been in possession of any property in the same way as Dissenters, the Act would apply without any interference of anybody's. Hitherto, however, there was no Church of England who had been in possession of any property for five-and-twenty minutes. (Laughter.)

Subsequently other questions were asked, especially relating to Church property and the incidence of its ownership. Mr. Gordon replied to them with remarkable aptness and readiness, and his replies were received with loud applause. At the conclusion of the proceedings a vote of thanks was moved to the lecturer, upon which an amendment was moved by Mr. J. M. Jowett, to the effect that, while acknowledging the courtesy and energy with which Mr. Gordon had delivered his lecture, he had not substantially replied to any of Mr. Lyon's arguments. The amendment on being put was lost by an overwhelming majority, and the original resolution was carried amid loud applause.

OSWESTRY.—We have received the full report of this meeting later than usual. It took place on the 20th ult. at the Public Hall, when Mr. Gordon addressed a very large audience upon the question, "The Liberation Society: What it wants and what it does not want." The *Oswestry Advertiser* says:—"There was a large audience, in which we saw several Churchmen, a number of artisans, and, it is worthy of remark, many young men. The proceedings, which commenced at eight and were continued until nearly half-past ten o'clock with unabated interest, were of a very satisfactory character, and the speaking, most of which rose far above the average oratory of the platform, was frequently and warmly applauded. Not the least gratifying episode of the meeting was the appearance of Mr. J. H. Hignett on the platform, and the courtesy that characterised his interrogation of the lecturer and Mr. Woods. He was answered with equal courtesy, and the meeting showed that it appreciated this exceptionally sensible method of conducting a controversy. At the beginning of Mr. Gordon's lecture there was a feeble attempt at interruption from some young advocates of Establishment at the further end of the room, but Mr. Gordon's good-humoured promise 'to convey that expression of approval' to the Rev. Mr. Gladstone of Wolverhampton (whose remarks at a recent meeting the lecturer was quoting at the time), put an end to the incipient disorder, and for the rest of the time there was nothing to complain of." Besides the chairman and Mr. Gordon, there were on the platform Mr. George Hastings, of Birmingham, the Rev. T. Gasquoine (Independent), the Rev. J. Latham (United Methodist), Mr. J. F. Whitridge, the Rev. R. M. Woods, of Whittington (Church of England), the Rev. J. Hillier (Calvinistic Methodist), Mr. C. R. Jones, Llanfyllin, and the Rev. E. D. Wilks (Baptist)." Mr. Minshall delivered a speech of remarkable ability from the chair, reviewing the general position of the disestablishment movement as well as the state of parties in the Church. His speech was received with great applause. Afterwards Mr. Gordon delivered a lecture, which was followed, as our readers will see from another column, by a remarkable speech from a clergyman who avowed himself to be a Liberationist. Some discussion of the usual character took place towards the close of the proceedings; after which Mr. J. F. Whitridge moved, and the Rev. T. Gasquoine seconded, a vote of thanks to the chairman and the lecturer; Mr. Gasquoine making a vigorous speech upon the occasion. The motion was put by the Rev. E. D. Wilks, and carried with great applause.

WIGAN.—AN UPROARIOUS MEETING.—The Rev. J. Bickerton Heard, recently a clergyman of the Church of England, who has lately joined the Liberation Society, has lectured on its behalf at Bolton, Blackpool, Rochdale, and Wigan. At the last-named town the supporters of the Establishment were bent on preventing his being heard, and

to a large extent succeeded in their object. The *Wigan Observer* contains three columns relating to the lecture and the proceedings. It says that "no sooner had the chairman and lecturer stepped on the platform than the unseemly rabble, among whom was conspicuous a curate of one of the churches in the town, commenced yelling, shouting, blowing whistles, and making all sorts of noises." This uproar continued for some time, the curate acting as fagman. Many times the lecturer had to resume his seat amidst the letting off of pigeons, and the noise of penny whistles, trumpets, and triangles, but he maintained his ground. It was impossible, however, to get a vote on the question of disestablishment; the meeting was therefore dissolved, and the police had to clear the room.

THORNTON, NEAR BRADFORD.—On Tuesday evening, Nov. 24, Mr. Gordon lectured in the large Kipping School in this place, Mr. Northrop in the chair, on "Church Property, so called." There was a large audience, and great attention to the subject in hand. No opposition.

WILBEY.—On Wednesday evening, Nov. 25, Mr. Gordon lectured in the Independent school in this place, Mr. Lister presiding, on "The gain and loss by the Established Church." Notwithstanding the inclement weather a large and enthusiastic audience, and heartiest votes of thanks.

GIRLINGTON.—On Thursday evening, Nov. 26, Mr. Gordon lectured in the large Templars' Hall in this place, Ald. West, J.P., in the chair, on "Church Property, so-called." The Bradford Church Defence secretaries had questioned Mr. Gordon in the morning's papers with a view to this meeting, and there was a large and deeply interested audience, and considerable discussion at the close. The three nights' work capitally followed up the Bradford meeting on the Monday night, and Mr. Thomas, of Bradford, rendered good service in these arrangements.

EARLSHEATON, NEAR DEWSBURY.—On Friday evening, 27th ult., Mr. Gordon lectured in the Independent School, in this place, Mr. Andrew, of Leeds, presiding, on "Church Property." It was the first meeting the society had held in the village, and, though the inclement weather continued, there was a large audience, and a capital hearing. The local vicar, who has distinguished himself at Dewsbury once or twice, and in the papers often, did not put in an appearance, though some other persons asked a few questions. Cordial votes of thanks.

STANNINGLEY, NEAR LEEDS.—Saturday evening, 28th ult., Mr. Gordon lectured in the large new Baptist School in this place, Mr. Harrison in the chair, on the aims of the Liberation Society, with special reference to the speeches of Mr. Wheelhouse, M.P., and others, at the meeting of the local Church Institute a few evenings before. There was a splendid audience, and Mr. Gordon's criticisms and expositions were received with great heartiness. Though suddenly called, and a bad night, the meeting was a great success.

A CLERICAL LIBERATIONIST.

At a Disestablishment meeting held at Oswestry, on November 20th, the Rev. R. M. Woods, of Whittington, a clergyman of the Church of England, seconded the following resolution:—

That this meeting, strongly convinced that the interference of the State with the religious concerns of the people is productive of great evils, religious, social, and political, consider it to be the duty of the advocates of disestablishment not only to carry on the movement with continued vigour, but to aim at producing a general conviction that the question is one of national, and not of merely sectarian, interest.

He spoke as follows:—"As a Churchman I hail with great satisfaction the efforts of this society, which I believe well qualified to deliver the Church of England from the bondage in which it is held—bondage I mean especially for the laity, because the clergy have assumed and exercised powers altogether incompatible with the liberty of the people. I do not refer to the exclusion of the laity from Convocation, for the proceedings of that body have so little practical importance that it would be absurd to speak of exclusion from their barren deliberations as a serious thing, but it is a serious thing that Christian congregations should be deprived of any voice, direct or indirect, in the choice of their own spiritual pastors. (Applause.) I will say nothing of the patronage vested in the bishops, but I may ask whether horse-racing peers and fox-hunting squires are the men best qualified to choose ministers of religion for the people. (Great and prolonged applause.) I do not mean to deny that they are respectable and amiable gentlemen, but I say they are placed in a most invidious and unjust position when they are called upon to exercise such a function. Yet, sir, this, though bad enough, might perhaps be borne, for whatever we may think of the method of appointing the youngest son of a peer or the son of a squire to the Christian pastorate, it must be admitted that young Hopeful sometimes turns out a useful minister. But what shall we say of the custom of carrying the empire of Mammon into the solemn mysteries of the Christian religion, making a merchandise of the Gospel and employing the auction mart to dispose of the heritage of Christ, which He purchased with His blood? Mammon is an impartial patron, caring neither for High Church, or Low Church, Broad Church, or No Church, but simply for the highest bidder. Before I pass on, I may refer you to the terms in which the subject has been recently treated by some of the bishops, as scandalous to the Christian Church. The Church is

supposed to be a model of purity, but what would become of the world if it were to imitate the Church in this disreputable particular. (Applause.) Suppose the appointments of the State were bought and sold, suppose the professors of literature and science purchased their places, and legal and judicial offices were knocked down to the highest bidder by those to whom patronage in secular matters is entrusted, society would fall to pieces from rottenness and corruption. (Applause.) Is it not sad, sir, is it not deplorable, is it not detestable, that the appointment of all others the most sacred and responsible should be made a matter of merchandise? What said John Bright—(applause)—on this subject? Would any Church but the Established Church of England endure such a thing? Would the Quakers, would the Presbyterians, would the Independents, would the Methodists, would the Baptists, would even the Church of Rome endure it? (Applause.) And let me further ask—would the Disestablished Church of Ireland tolerate such a practice? or would it be tolerated in the Church of England if she were disestablished, and the laity had that share in the management of Church affairs to which they are justly entitled? But, sir, perhaps even this might be borne. It is a great thing to have patience. (Laughter.) We might be induced to put up with this, and to console ourselves with the thought that without purchase the prosperous tradesman's son might fail to find a sphere for the exercise of his talents; and the son of the tradesman or the merchant sometimes turns out as good a minister as the younger son of the squire. (Hear, hear.) We might also console ourselves with the consideration that some aged clergyman, who has failed to secure preferment, who has failed to find his labours rewarded until extreme old age, may be put into some snug vicarage to facilitate the sale of the living—(laughter)—and find that his infirmities had gained for him what his talents had never won—(laughter)—nothing being expected of him except that he shall be trotted out sometimes, or, if he cannot be trotted, wheeled out, before the peering eyes of intending purchasers. (Laughter.) But, sir, there is a point where patience ceases to be a virtue, and that point, or I am much mistaken, has been reached in the Church of England, when a large number of her ministers have flung aside the very name of Protestant and are trying to lead the people slowly on, step by step, until they awake some fine morning and find themselves good Catholics. (Applause.) And we see this programme daily carried out before our eyes. (Applause.) How many thousands in the Church of England are compelled to pay for the preaching of doctrines they hate and detest! How many are compelled to expose their families to the work of teachers of this kind. We may be fortunate in this neighbourhood. We may have Protestant pastors, if, indeed, they will allow us to call them so. (Laughter.) But if we are in that position there are thousands of our fellow countrymen in the Church of England who are compelled to listen to teachings which they condemn; and this, sir, I trust, we shall not allow. (Applause.) Shall we be compelled to support the preaching of the doctrine of private confession and absolution, and of transubstantiation? The patience of the members of the Church of England has borne much, but to this, I trust, they will never submit. I know we do not hear so much as we used to do of clergymen of the Church of England going over to the Church of Rome, but let us not be deceived. They have merely altered their tactics; not individual secession but corporate reunion, is now the cry. That is the very name of a pamphlet widely distributed; and the clergyman is branded as a coward who deserts and does not stop in the Church to bring over his people with him. Are we to support this insidious agency? I have always been a friend of civil and religious liberty. (Cheers.) I would give the Romanist every privilege as a subject which I enjoy myself. I have no right to hinder the Romanist or the Ritualist from endeavouring to promulgate his opinions, provided he does so in a straightforward manner. But are Protestants to be compelled to support those doctrines, and are they to stand aside and see their wives and daughters moulded perhaps after the model of Italian purity by the spiritual manipulations of a confessor? This, I repeat, I trust we never shall allow. (Cheers.) Are we not compelled to pay for this? Ten times as much is paid for this perversion as is expended in sending missionaries abroad to spread the Gospel. But it may be argued that the more flagrant the conduct of Romanising teachers, and the more pernicious the errors which they inculcate, the more need there is of State control to check and repress them. Sir, I have no faith in the power of State control to remedy this crying evil. State control may restrain the symbolical gesticulations of Romanisers, but State control will not alter the tendency of their teaching. They have told us themselves that their preaching and teaching will not be affected by any laws that Parliament may pass for their regulation of public worship; and, for my part, I quite believe them. But, sir, the State can and will do this: it will, if requisite, sell the flock of the farmer and the furniture of the cottager to pay for this pernicious teaching. It is not to State control that we must look for a remedy. It is to that legitimate control which the people should be enabled to exercise in the affairs of their Church, and which the laity of the Church of England never will be enabled to exercise until that Church is disestablished. Now, so long as it was only our Dissenting fellow-Christians who had to bear this grievance of paying for the preaching of doctrines they disbelieved, so long as the burden

only pressed upon our Nonconformist brethren, we Protestants of the Church of England bore it with the most Christian resignation. (Laughter and applause.) We thought them, perhaps, a stubborn race, if three centuries of injustice had not broken their spirit and reconciled their neck to the yoke. (Laughter.) But now the same injustice has come to ourselves, and we are compelled to pay for doctrines we condemn and disapprove, or I should rather say, we hate and abhor. I trust the common grievance will animate us to make common cause for the removal of the injustice. The most unfriendly historians admit how much we owe to the Nonconformists of this country for civil and religious liberty; and now that those principles are triumphant—for they are triumphant whatever may be said—(Hear)—shall we allow this injustice to press any longer on our Nonconformist brethren? shall we Protestants in England not have the same measure of justice extended to us that was extended to the Roman Catholics of Ireland? Shall we deny to loyal and peaceful Nonconformists what we have conceded to the clamours of the insubordinate Irish? (Laughter and applause.) But I am trespassing too long upon your patience, perhaps. [The rev. speaker was encouraged to proceed, by the most cordial applause.] I will simply say, in conclusion, that I hope the time is near at hand when the abolition of all invidious distinctions will lead us to live together in that peace and harmony which are so sadly wanting in the Church of Christ." (Loud applause which was again and again repeated.)

MR. GLADSTONE'S PAMPHLET ON THE VATICAN DECREES.

Archbishop Manning is not content with controversy, but has proceeded to action. He has left behind him, on going to Rome, a circular letter to be read in all the churches of his diocese, denouncing all who do not accept the Ultramontane dogma of Infallibility. They are 'anathema,' they are denied confession and communion; their approach to either—nay, even the calling of themselves 'Catholics' is branded by the archbishop as a deception of the clergy and a commission of sacrilege, "to their own greater condemnation." On this the *Echo* remarks:—"We have not yet heard that Monsignore Capel's definition of the dogma of Infallibility is also 'of obligation,' and therefore Sir George Bowyer, Mr. de Lisle, and others, who cannot swallow all that the Monsignore puts forth, escape the fate of Lord Acton and his friends; yet they must feel admonished by this prickly pastoral, in which the crook of the Archbishop has a severe hook for the legs of all 'dear children in Jesus Christ,' and a harsh spike to thrust forth (even though communion be dearer than life) for those who lean to the excommunicated Dollinger and the Old Catholic party. This unchristian Christianity has ever been the note of the ruling powers of Rome, and the ascetic severity with which Dr. Manning separates the timid sheep of Ultramontanism from the bolder and more inquiring, who are in fact, though not in name, the latest addition to Protestants, has the true Roman flavour. There can be no mistake. 'Whosoever does not in his heart receive and believe the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, as they have been defined by the Supreme Authority of the Church, does by that very fact cease to be a Catholic.'"

No one (says the *Pall Mall Gazette*) can fail to see either at whom this declaration is aimed, or what is its practical effect. It is, in fact, an excommunication "adapted to modern usages." Lord Acton is told in effect that he has by his historical opinions cut himself off from communion with his Church, and he is only not excommunicated because, by his denial of Catholic doctrines, he has *ipso facto* excommunicated himself. It is evidently unnecessary to forbid the sacraments to any person who has placed himself in such a position that he cannot receive them without "committing a sacrilege"; indeed, it may be considered a sort of refinement on the ordinary method of ecclesiastical punishment to allow him to work "his own greater condemnation" by continuing to receive them. The process lacks some of the impressiveness of the old mode of formal excommunication, but it seems to us equally effectual, and, what is more, we can hardly see how the objects of it can avoid treating it as such.

It seems that the English Catholic bishops do not agree. In a recent sermon Bishop Vaughan held to the extreme views of Archbishop Manning on the infallibility dogma, and was hot in denunciation of the offences of the late Prime Minister. A pastoral of Bishop Clifford, of Clifton, declares that "Catholics" of the present hold precisely the same doctrine that the late Dr. Doyle held—that the Pope has no power to free a Roman Catholic from his allegiance. "If the Pope were so to abuse his power as to seek to interfere in that which undoubtedly belongs to the civil authority, Catholics would resist it."

Lord Robert Montagu, a recent convert to Rome, though Minister of Education in the last Conservative Government, has published his promised pamphlet, in refutation of Mr. Gladstone's, on the Vatican Decrees. He says the Pope is the head of a perfect society, and therefore must have full power; in virtue of which the Popes have pronounced sentence of deposition against wicked and tyrannical sovereigns; "but I assert," says Lord

Robert, "that in doing this, they did not transgress the limits of their power, nor usurp the rights of princes."

The *Tablet* undertook to deal with an imaginary case. Suppose, it was asked, that France went to war with Italy to restore the temporal power, that England sided with Italy, and that the Pope, declaring that the matter appertained to the government of the Church, should forbid the faithful to fight for the Italians on peril of their salvation—would the Queen's Catholic subjects be justified in obeying her orders and in disobeying the Pope? The *Tablet*, after a good deal of beating about the bush, at last "frankly" admits that "if the Pope had decided *ex cathedra*, and were we a soldier or sailor so circumstanced, we would unhesitatingly feel it our duty to refuse fighting and to take the consequences!" It is clear that this remarkable profession of contingent mutiny implies a great deal more, and many people feel at liberty to argue that it substantially concedes the whole of Mr. Gladstone's case.

CHURCH AND STATE ON THE CONTINENT.

All the Roman Catholic deans of the Province of Posen have been summoned by the local courts to give evidence as to the name of the delegate secretly commissioned by the Pope to govern the Church of the archdiocese during the imprisonment of Bishop Ledochowaky.

On Sunday morning last Divine service was celebrated by the Old Catholics for the first time in Berlin. Professor Weber, of Breslau, who preached, said that the object of the body was to render to the State what belonged to the State, and to the Church what belonged to the Church. About 300 persons were present.

A telegram from Rome reports that Archbishop Manning has had a private audience of the Pope.

The Roman correspondent of the *Journal de Bruxelles* writes that a consistory will be held at the Vatican on the 21st of next month, and that the following five prelates will be elevated to the Cardinalate:—Monsignor Bartolini, secretary of the Acta; Monsignor Gianella, major-domo of the Pope; Monsignor Paece, and the Archbishops of Westminster and Malines.

It is said that in Rome the pamphlet of Father Curci, a learned Jesuit, in which he speaks of the "stupidity" of those who hope to stamp out the modern spirit, excites nearly as much controversy as Mr. Gladstone's challenge to English Catholics and the contradictory opinions it has elicited from them. The work was, according to a correspondent, lately the subject of a conversation between the Pope and one of the English prelates now on a visit to Rome, in which his view of the impossibility of a general restoration of the Catholic ideal was discussed. Pius IX. appeared to be saddened by the consideration of Father Curci's theme, and turning to a young Abbé in his suite, said gravely—"Tell me, what are the theological virtues?" "There are three," replied the young Abbé, "Faith, Hope, and Charity." "Hope," replied the Pope, "Hope! there are those who forget this virtue." And he turned the conversation.

Father Beckx, the general of the Jesuits, has requested the Pope not to nominate at the coming Consistory any Jesuit as a cardinal. The reason assigned for the request is that the Jesuits are particularly anxious at the present time not to appear in any way prominently before the world. In Monday's sitting of the Lower House of the Austrian Reichsrath a resolution in favour of modifying the school inspection law was brought forward by Herr Wildauer. This resolution, which is directed against the clerical opposition in the Tyrol Diet, was referred to a committee of fifteen, after a warm debate, in the course of which the Government declared itself in favour of the proposal, and maintained the competency of the Reichsrath to deal with the subject.

The Vienna correspondent of the *Times* writes:—"The cause of the Old Catholics has come before the Reichsrath by a bill being brought in by some members of the more advanced Liberal party to regulate their position. As Glepach, the mover of the bill, clearly proved, their present position is a very awkward one. They neither belong to the Catholic Church nor do they form a Church of their own. They might indeed constitute themselves into such a separate Church by conforming to the formalities required by law, which consists of little more than a declaration to that purport and a statement of their ability to maintain their clergy and schools; but by doing so they would virtually give up the position which they claim as the true representatives of the Catholic Church, and at the same time renounce more or less all pretension to a share in the endowments of the Catholic Church. They prefer therefore to endure the drawbacks of their actual anomalous position until they are relieved by legislative enactment, as the bill proposes to do, without asking from them a sacrifice of principle. The bill has been sent to the Permanent Ecclesiastical Committee of the House to report upon it. The question is rather a delicate one. Among the sixteen millions of Catholics of Austria there are but some hundreds of Old Catholics, and these almost exclusively in the capital, who have not recognised the decisions of the Vatican Council, and who have constituted themselves as an Old Catholic community. However much inclined both Government and Legislature may be to respect and protect religious freedom in every individual case, they

must carefully avoid even the semblance of taking a side and deciding between the contending parties."

The *John Bull* states that the bishops will meet at Lambeth in the third week of January for the purpose of discussing the proposed ecclesiastical legislation for the coming session.

According to the Ultramontane view, the State is divine, conscience rather diviner than the State, the Pope diviner of all. Conscience, in short, is a sort of dog kept by the Pope to worry the State, but not permitted to bite its master.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

BISHOP COLENSO was to have preached at Oxford on Sunday, but on Saturday morning an inhibition was served upon him by the bishop of the diocese. Notwithstanding this inhibition, the rector of the church in which Dr. Colenso was to have preached read that prelate's sermon to a large congregation; and the Bishop of Natal himself occupied the pulpit of Balliol College in the course of the day.

THE SCOTCH DISESTABLISHMENT MOVEMENT.—We understand that it is probable the Rev. Dr. Rainy, who has taken so conspicuous a part in the Free Church Assembly against the Scotch Patronage Act, will be one of the speakers at one of the forthcoming meetings in favour of disestablishment in Scotland.

THE PRESTBURY RITUALIST CASE.—The case against the Rev. J. Edwards, of Prestbury, near Cheltenham, was before the Court of Arches on Friday, the defendant applying that several of the articles against him should be struck out on the ground of vagueness. Sir R. Phillimore rejected the application in every case except one, in which Mr. Edwards was vaguely charged with using a crucifix at the communion-table.

IN THE CASE OF MARTIN v. MACKONCHIE, Sir R. Phillimore decided on Friday not to hear arguments on points in which his decision had already been overruled by the Judicial Committee, viz., the position of the celebrant vestments, and the use of wafer bread. Fresh arguments, he said, might be addressed to the Judicial Committee without a fresh judgment in the court.

SACERDOTALISM IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—A lecture was given in the Town Hall, Dorchester, on Friday, Nov. 20, by the Rev. T. Neave, Congregational minister, on "Sacerdotalism in the Church of England: the Crisis and the Cure," in answer to the Church Association meeting of the preceding week, when Mr. Neave was refused a hearing. The attendance was good. The lecture was an able one—demonstrating that even upon the showing of the Low Church the Prayer-book was full of Sacerdotalism, and that nothing but disestablishment would set the Church free from its perplexities and thralldom.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK AND ROMANISM.—There seems to be every reason to believe the report stating that the Duke of Norfolk is about to become a priest. His eldest sister, Lady Minna Charlotte Howard, is a Carmelite nun in Paris; and another Lady Etheldreda, is a Sister of Charity. The duke has at his own expense rebuilt the little Oratory at Brompton, and contributed 5,000*l.* to the general building fund. At Arundel he has erected a huge cathedral which has already cost 80,000*l.* and which will take another 50,000*l.* before it is finished. This excess of zeal is said to be due to the Dowager Duchess, who controls her son's actions and purse-strings. A question will arise if he becomes a monk as to his position as Premier Duke of England, and hereditary Marshal in all State ceremonies. It will be odd to see a cowed monk leading in State processions.—*Weekly Review*.

THE REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN AMERICA.—Bishop Cummins (the New York Independent says) preached a sermon in this city on Sunday, Nov. 15, on the late general convention. He pointed out the fact that the germ of all the mischief in the Episcopal Church is the sacerdotal principle, and declared that there would never be genuine reform until that was expunged from the Prayer-book. He thought that the new canon of ritual was very much like one of Lee's wooden guns at Manassas—a piece of Quaker ordinance, that would hurt nobody. The prospects of his own Church are, in his opinion, exceedingly bright. There are already seven parishes in Canada, and the last news from the Dominion was that a whole congregation, numbering 400, with a dean of the Church of England at their head, had been added to the ranks of the Reformers. In the State of Illinois there are five churches, in New York four, in Pennsylvania four. It is not a year yet since the first meetings of the new organisation were held, and "well nigh forty ministers and twenty parishes are in union with the Church."

THE REV. S. MINTON IN A NONCONFORMIST PULPIT.—On Sunday the Rev. Samuel Minton, M.A. (Worcester College, Oxford), perpetual curate of Eaton Chapel, Eaton-square, London, preached in the Emmanuel Congregational Church, Trumpington-street, Cambridge. At the conclusion of his sermon in the morning he remarked on the hopeful signs of the spirit of exclusiveness breaking down in the land, noting the happy coincidence which took place in Cambridge that day in that respect. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had happily commenced an interchange of pulpits, and on that afternoon an eminent member of his own university was to occupy the pulpit of the University of Cambridge, while a humble clergyman of the Church of England occupied the pulpit of that church. This was also an interchange of pulpits. He saw no difference in the principle at

all. He did not understand that the Archbishop of York had renounced the University of Oxford because he preached at Cambridge. He did not suppose that university would pass a vote of censure upon him, or accuse him of non-allegiance, or that he would not be received there with as cordial a welcome as ever. He did not understand that by the members of any of the various colleges in the university meeting, and occasionally fraternising with the members of other colleges, or even dining with them, they thereby broke the laws of their college. So it appeared to him it should be with the different preachers of the Church of Christ. They ought to hold fellowship one with another, and that without in the least breaking down the organisation of the one particular denomination to which they belonged.

Religious and Denominational News.

MESSRS. MOODY AND SANKEY IN DUBLIN.

These American Evangelists have been staying for some time in Dublin and conducting services in the Metropolitan Hall and Exhibition Palace—the latter holding 6,000 people—which have been crowded to overflowing. The daily papers, with the exception of the Roman Catholic organs, have reported the proceedings at great length. Three meetings were held during each day. A conference of ministers of various denominations was held on Tuesday in the Exhibition Palace, under the presidency of Mr. Moody. A space on the floor of the great transept, capable of seating 1,000 persons, was railed off and reserved for ministers, about 800 of whom were present. The meeting was continued for six hours. A separate subject was assigned to each hour, and was introduced by singing and prayer; then one or two addresses, in proportion to its importance, were given by ministers previously appointed. During the hour devoted to the consideration of "Work among the Masses," Dr. Knox and other clergymen from Belfast bore testimony to the work which had been done there by Messrs. Moody and Sankey, but the principal addresses of the day were by the Rev. J. Fleming Stevenson upon "What can we do to promote the Lord's work in Ireland?" and an address by Mr. Moody on "Work." Frequently the meeting was so carried away by the eloquence of these gentlemen that they applauded loudly. A letter was read from the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, regretting his inability to be present. At intervals during the day Mr. Sankey sang some of his now famous and familiar hymns. The proceedings, which began at ten o'clock, were concluded at four o'clock by singing the Doxology. The services were resumed at half-past seven o'clock, when Mr. Moody again presided, and evangelistic addresses were given by the Rev. Mr. McIntosh, of Belfast, the Rev. Grattan Guinness, of London, and other gentlemen. Messrs. Moody and Sankey have now left Dublin.

On Sunday Messrs. Moody and Sankey held a meeting in one of the public halls, Manchester, at the early hour of eight a.m., so as not to interfere with the ordinary services at the various places of worship. About 3,000 persons were present, and the meeting lasted about an hour-and-a-half. In the afternoon an evangelistic meeting was held in the same building, which was again well filled, notwithstanding the continuance of the rain. Mr. Moody was not present at the first portion of the service, but he subsequently attended and delivered an address.

CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIAN WORKERS.

The fifth quarterly conference of Christian workers was held on Friday afternoon at the Metropolitan Tabernacle. Amongst others present we observed, Captain Moreton Smith, General Burrows, Dr. Ellis, Captain Liebenrood, Captain the Hon. E. Hobart, the Revs. W. Heralam, S. Hebditch, G. Pearce, V. J. Charlesworth, Thain Davidson, Dr. Mackery, and Mr. Gawin Kirkham. The floor of the vast building was well filled by Christian workers from all parts of the metropolis. After prayers by several of the brethren on the platform, and singing by the congregation.

Mr. Spurgeon gave an address on the subject prescribed for the occasion, "What to preach, and how." The former part of the question, he said, addressed itself more particularly to older preachers, while "How to preach" was the question which perplexed beginners. Young preachers thought too much of "How to preach." Older preachers thought perhaps too little of that, and too much of the other. Now, it was possible to get too care. less. There should not merely be the right food, but it should be rightly cooked. Truth was the main thing, but the preparation and delivery had far more to do with it than was generally supposed. If a man were uncertain what to preach he had better not preach at all. The best thing would be for him to wait until he did know some elementary truth of which he was sure, for it would be a pity for him to preach as soul-saving truth that which might be error after all. The first answer he would give would be to preach Christ, and Him crucified—Christ as a substitutionary sacrifice. After referring to other things that must be preached, such as justification and repentance, the speaker said that for evangelists the simple Word would suffice; pastors should take the whole range of the Bible. They must preach naturally.

They would never get the working classes of London to them unless they spoke naturally—not copying from some successful brother. They must get out of technicalities and bring them down to words understandable by the people. They must also get rid of "mechanism." They got down now to sinners at the end of a sermon, and the sinners all knew it and bobbed their heads. A great thing in preaching was the "surprises." When a preacher was expected to say something he should suddenly say something else. But he ought to preach appropriately. What would suit one class would not suit another. A man ought to use speech appropriate to those gathered around him. Clearness was a great thing to cultivate. He had heard sermons which resembled to his mind a luminous haze. They were remarkably brilliant he had no doubt, but there was such a fog about them, the fulness of their proportions could not be seen. Great thoughts might be given in simple language. Sometimes, however, they could pull up and address a few words to the children and those of immature judgment. All went to show that those were most successful who were most earnest in their work. They must be in earnest. If not they would ruin their own souls as well as the souls of the people. He had greatly to bless God for giving him success in that place, for they had as many members as, and more than, there were seats to sit on. In concluding, he related as an illustration an anecdote of a street preacher who told him that he often preached but did not convert any one. Mr. Spurgeon replied, "Do you expect to convert a sinner every time you open your mouth?" "No, sir, I do not expect that," he answered. "Then that is why you do not get it."

A number of addresses and prayers were offered, and the conference was closed with the benediction, which was pronounced by Mr. Spurgeon. Tea was served to about 1,800 workers, and during the interval which followed, many availed themselves of Mr. Spurgeon's invitation to inspect the new buildings of the Pastor's College. In the evening the Tabernacle was again well-filled, and Mr. Spurgeon again presided. After singing and prayer, the Chairman delivered another powerful address; the subject being, "What to Teach, and How to Teach it." Addresses were also delivered by Dr. Barnardo, the Rev. J. G. Driffeld, rector of Bow, Mr. G. E. Butler, and Mr. Joshua Poole. The conference was closed with singing and the benediction. At the morning conference Mr. Moody was present, but declined to deliver an address. He is making a short stay in town to complete arrangements for the meetings to be held in the Agricultural Hall in March next.

The Rev. W. A. Griffiths, of Oaklands Chapel, London, has accepted an invitation to the pastorate of the church at Narberth, Pembroke-shire.

SOUTHERN-ON-SEA.—The church and congregation worshipping at the Congregational Church here are exerting themselves to improve the interior of their sanctuary by colouring, &c. They also contemplate the purchase of an organ. The scheme is taken up with great heartiness, and the friends confidently expect, with such assistance as they may receive, to carry out the whole before the visiting season of the coming year.

THE DAY OF INTERCESSION.—Monday was appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury as a day of intercession for the success of Christian missions, and was so observed in a large number of metropolitan churches. At Westminster Abbey, at the afternoon service, the sermon was preached by Dean Stanley, who took occasion to pay a high tribute to the life and work of Bishop Colenso; and in the evening an address was delivered in the nave by Dr. Caird, Principal of the University of Glasgow. This was an elaborate defence of the principles of Christianity. In St. Paul's Cathedral, Canon Miller was the preacher. There were also services in the various large towns.

EAST LONDON SUBURB.—The growing suburb of London in the South Essex district has long been but poorly represented by the Baptists, but they begin to show signs of substantial progress. A chapel is being erected at Leyton by the London Baptist Association; and now the Baptists of Wanstead, Leytonstone, &c., are initiating a movement for the suitable representation of their religious principles in the district. A series of Thursday evening devotional meetings have been commenced, the first being held on Nov. 19 at Mr. Hutchison's, Wanstead Park, and that of last week at Mr. Zimmerman's, Maycroft, Snarbrook. —From a Correspondent.

DUBLIN.—The Rev. J. T. Wesley, York-street Church, Dublin, has intimated his intention of resigning the pastorate, he having been accepted for work among the heathen by the directors of the London Missionary Society. He leaves shortly for Madagascar, and it is to be hoped that the Church in Dublin may soon meet with a suitable pastor. An important field is open. The visit of Messrs. Moody and Sankey to that city has been the means of creating a religious awakening, and there seems to be no doubt that a minister of ability as a preacher and otherwise well fitted for the work, would, by the blessing of God, be the means of gathering in a large harvest.

ISLINGTON CHAPEL.—The congregation at Islington Chapel commemorated on November 17 the first anniversary of the Rev. John Spurgeon's pastorate, by a numerously-attended tea and public meeting in the Lecture-hall, at which Charles

Teede, Esq., presided. The pastor gave a gratifying account of the work done during the past year: sixty-two members had been added to the church, which was in a very low state when he came; a Dorcas Society had been formed and was actively engaged, at the last meeting both vestries being filled with ladies employed in making garments for the poor; a mothers' meeting had been commenced; two extra meetings for prayer were well sustained; the Young Men's Fellowship Society, the Bible-class and Sunday-schools, were increasing in numbers, and a spirit of unity pervaded all the members. Mr. Spurgeon expressed obligations to many friends who had rendered aid to the cause during the year. During the evening the pastor was presented with two handsome chairs, one for the communion-table and one for use in the pulpit. The Revs. J. Thomas, J. Ellis, and C. Brake delivered interesting addresses in the course of the proceedings.

THE WEEK OF PRAYER FOR YOUNG MEN.—The proposal for a week of prayer for young men was observed in many parts of the metropolis last week, and in various provincial towns, as well as in Glasgow and other great towns of Scotland. The daily Monday meetings at Moorgate-street Hall were well attended. At each meeting Dr. Mackay delivered an address specially suited to young men. In the Mildmay-park district over a thousand reprints of the letter were circulated, and on Saturday evening a very largely-attended meeting for men only was held in the Conference Hall, and was presided over by Captain the Hon. F. Moreton. The first address was delivered by the Rev. Mark Guy Pearce, of Mildmay-park Wesleyan Chapel, his subject being the importance among young men of whole-hearted decision for Christ. The Rev. Gordon Calthrop followed, and specially addressed a few words to each of three classes which he thought probable was present, first to those who refused to recognise Jesus of Nazareth in their everyday life, and were unmistakably on the wrong side; secondly, to those who, for some reason or another, felt themselves unable to fall in with the requirements of the Gospel; and thirdly, to those who were going to turn to the Lord at some convenient season—a class which, he feared, was much more numerous than the others, and which stood in the greater peril. A few words were also addressed to those who served their Master faithfully. Other addresses, interspersed with singing and prayer, were also delivered, and the meeting was closed with the benediction. At several churches, not only in the neighbourhood of Mildmay-park, but in various parts of London, sermons specially addressed to young men were preached, and were generally well attended.—Record.

GREAT HORTON, BRADFORD.—On Tuesday evening last an interesting service was held in the High-street Congregational Church, the occasion being the formation of the church. The Rev. James Innes, of Wibsey, pastor of the nearest church, presided. The Rev. John Aston, of Ecclehill, and the Rev. D. R. Cowan, of Saltaire, conducted the preliminary devotional exercises. The Rev. D. Fraser, LL.D., Principal of Airedale College, gave an address on the Constitution of a Congregational Church, after which the church was formed, Mr. Edwards, the secretary, reading over the list of members and the declaration, to which the members subscribed by standing up. The Rev. J. G. Miall, of Salem Chapel, Bradford, offered the prayer, and the Rev. W. Kingsland, of College Chapel, Bradford, gave the address to the members of the church, whom he counselled against the peculiar danger to which it was exposed, owing to the circumstances connected with its origin, the danger to his mind being the tendency to look greater care to the mere technicalities of Church polity rather than to the greater and grander question, the spread of the knowledge of Christ. After the delivery of this address the ordinance of the Lord's Supper was observed, members of sister churches present joining with the new church in the celebration. The Rev. J. G. Miall presided, and the Rev. J. Haley, of Lister Hills Chapel, Bradford, gave a most impressive address. Messrs. William Bylea, James Law, J. Whitley, S. Dobson, J. Sunderland, E. Carter, Joshua Priestley, A. Crosland, and the deacons of the town churches, were present. Letters of sympathy were received from the Revs. A. Ruasell, M.A., W. Houghton, F. Hall, W. M. Arthur, M.A., S. Dyson, J. Bruce, and Thomas Roberts, sickness or previous engagements preventing their attendance.

There will be a re-issue of *Chambers' Encyclopædia* at an early date.

The Government of Russia has given permission for the reproduction in the Russian language of the periodical called the *British Workman*. A Spanish edition of the same journal is allowed to circulate in Spain.

Professor Vambéry will shortly bring out a book entitled "Islam in the Nineteenth Century: an Essay upon the Present State of Civilisation in Mohammedan Asia." The book will be published simultaneously in French, English, and German.

A remarkably fine voice in delighting the musical connoisseurs of the western counties. It is that of a Cornish young lady, Miss Robertson. Her voice is not superior in sweetness or power to those of most first-class sopranis, but she ascends to and dwells and trills upon notes in the upper ranges which probably no living singer ever attempted to sing in public.

Correspondence.

ANGLICAN INFALLIBILITY.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—At a time when the doctrine of the Papal Infallibility is being so ably discussed and criticised not only in your own columns but elsewhere, it may be well to remind those who oppose the Roman dogma and are themselves members of the English Church that they too are open to the charge of teaching the same repugnant doctrine.

The Anglican Church claims most unmistakably to be an infallible institution, and all members of her communion are compelled to believe exactly what is laid down for them in the Athanasian Creed, the very origin of which is unknown—the awful penalty if they fail to do so being that, “without doubt, they shall perish everlastingly.”

The difference, therefore, between Papal and Anglican infallibility is entirely and solely one of degree. Roman Catholics maintain that the *ex cathedra* utterances of the Pope are infallible, he being the voice, ruler, and highest representative of their Church; while Anglicans, dispensing with any special personal agency, assert for themselves their claim to infallibility as an ecclesiastical body. Would it not be well, therefore, for English Churchmen, instead of pointing out the errors of Roman Catholicism, to consider how they might best bring about that reform in their own Church which is so sadly wanted.

I am, yours faithfully,

W. S. A.

Manchester, November 28.

CHURCH PROPERTY AND THE NATION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—The heavy fog of superstition that still envelops a large section of the national mind, with reference to “consecrated” buildings and land, and “sacred” funds, will need a very brisk round of public teaching by press, pulpit, and platform to drive it away. And we must call on all our public speakers, “reverend” or otherwise—in season or out of season—to commence with vigour the work of instructing the somewhat dense British public.

Let us remember the negro preacher's exhaustive division of his sermons:—

“First I ‘splains.

Next I ‘spounds.

Lastly I puts in de rousements.”

We have to “splain” to our notion that a large proportion of the funds used by the Establishment are beyond all question national funds, not only legally, but morally, and equitably, and fairly, and honourably, and every other way.

Then, when the nation—despite the diligent sophistries and abounding fallacies of the clergy—has got a good grip on this fundamental truth, the time will have come for “spounding” that the duty of the nation is seriously to consider Mark vii. 11, and to meditate much on “Corban.” I cordially commend that text to our sermon-makers. Attentively pondered, is it not precisely the truth that England needs! The nation wakes up to find that it is spending hundreds of thousands annually in cathedral services, and in the support of mysterious dignitaries who discharge quite unspeakable functions. Meanwhile not only is the education of the country lagging, but many most important matters of life and death to scores of thousands remain untouched for want of such treasure as the ecclesiastics have got hold of. Our Lord poured scorn on men who by the expedient of dedicating funds to the Temple service and the support of priests left themselves without the means of discharging the plain duty of finding bread and meat and lodging for their poor old parents. And I say that the application of national funds in our England at this moment presents many a woful parallel. No doubt the priests of our Lord's time would have thought it a sad profanation to take back funds consecrated to “holy” uses, and therewith pay the butcher's and baker's bills of poor old Zebedee and his wife. We shall have the same affectation of pious horror to meet. We shall be denounced as sacrilegious and secular as we lay hands on the national Corban. Never mind. Forewarned is forearmed. The working classes, at all events, will be early convinced that the application of national money in grand sanitary works that shall bid defiance to typhus, and typhoid and gastric fevers and baffle cholera—is a most “pious use.” I merely mention one mode of application as a sample. A list of a dozen claimants for the emancipated “Corban” could soon be made out.

Then, lastly, we have to “put in de rousements.” This we will do when our lines are laid, our purpose defined, and all England can see the grand object of our exertions crystallising into the form of a Bill in Parliament. But that time is not yet. We only want to rouse enough enthusiasm to induce men to listen to the “splain” and “spounding.” And for this last purpose I here draft a resolution for any public meeting on the subject, to wit:—“That the thanks of this meeting are cordially tendered to those priests who have disinterred ‘dominicals’ at Exeter; also to every clergyman who has made himself conspicuously offen-

sive to Dissenters in parochial burying-grounds and cemeteries—such, for instance, as the ‘reverend’ gentleman at Southampton who last week refused to allow a Congregational minister, beloved by his own people and respected by the whole town, to take any part whatever in the interment of one of his own deacons, Mr. Chaplin, whose vault (he having come out of the Establishment) happened to be on the consecrated side of the cemetery; also to all Ritualists, apers of the Papacy, jugglers with bread and wine, absolution-mongers, and prying father-confessors; also to all the multitude of clerics who playfully evade the statutes against simony by neat little tricks and pious frauds (as to which see evidence before the commissioners), and who dexterously make one word mean three things, or three words mean one thing, as the case may require, and put unpleasantly compromising expressions in the Prayer-book to intellectual torture until the unhappy phrases, in sheer agony, shout out a High-Church or Low-Church interpretation, according to the requirements of the priest who conducts the inquisition.”

Let us consider our mercies. We do not want for matter to stimulate the nation to serious inquiry, before we finally “put in de rousements,” and call upon an educated people to administer the *coup de grace* to that worldly political conglomerate that has so long falsely trumpeted itself as the Church of England, and justifies its boast by pointing to the large portion of the true Church of Christ in England that has been held by it in willing, because ignorant, captivity.

Yours truly,

EDWARD BUTLER.

EXEMPTION OF PLACES OF WORSHIP FROM RATES.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—There is one question connected with disestablishment and disendowment which I have not seen discussed in your columns, but which appears to me closely connected therewith. I mean the exemption from local taxation accorded to all “registered places of worship.”

I am an overseer of a large City parish the rateable value of which is about a quarter of a million. It contains six churches connected with the Establishment and about thirty belonging to all other denominations. At a moderate estimate these buildings and their sites, if rated on the principle applied to other public buildings, would be rated at from 12,000*l.* to 15,000*l.* per annum, and as our rates average nearly five shillings in the pound, we have to levy at least threepence in the pound more than would be necessary but for their exception. To this extent, therefore, the public are taxed for the maintenance of religious teaching and worship, and the circumstance that all sects are treated alike does not, to my mind, take this exemption out of the category of State endowments. Probably public opinion would never have sanctioned the levy of rates expressly to subsidise religious bodies, and this form of State-aid is only possible because most people fail to see that the exemption of some is of necessity identical with the taxation of others.

I write in no hostile spirit, being, and having been ever since I had opinions on public affairs, an opponent of all endowments, and especially of religious endowments.

Your obedient servant,

E. H. F.

November 21, 1874.

A SUGGESTION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—May I, through the columns of your paper, invite the Christian reader to consider the following suggestion? The time will soon be coming when parents will welcome home their children for the holidays, when children will joyfully reach the homes they love so much, and so often think of with pleasure when absent; and yet for missionary parents there is no such pleasure. To these “messengers of the churches” the joyful time of Christmas comes bringing with it happy thoughts of the Child Jesus, but not bringing with it those whom they would so like to fold in their arms, and tell of Him who was born the Babe of Bethlehem. Cannot something be done to make up to these dear children in some measure for the separation!—something that shall make the parents' hearts sing for joy when they hear that their dear children are cared for by the Christians of the land they love so well? Fathers and mothers! those of you who have it in your power, remember the inmates of our mission schools—let them have to feel that Christian people care for their pleasure and happiness, and take them into your families at least for a part of the holidays. You know how your boys would feel at passing the holidays at school, however happy they may be there—how your little daughters would grieve could they not see their home, and with your hearts full of love to them turn to the children of our devoted missionaries. Perhaps all could not be taken away—some may be too delicate to be removed from the care they usually enjoy—prepare then for them some Christmas surprise that your children can help in! What joy would an unexpected parcel produce, sent direct to each child detained, and the names might easily be procured from the matrons and

masters in time. May the love you have to the Great Master lead you to do this for His self-denying servants. Then again the time will soon come for ordering magazines for your families—how happy would the children in the mission schools be if each one could receive one of these periodicals monthly! A double good would thus be done, pleasure given, and these interesting little works circulated. Commending these thoughts to the serious consideration of your readers,

I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

E. A. E.

THE INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION MOVEMENT.

A public meeting was held on the evening of Tuesday, November 24, in the Liverpool Institute, to celebrate the progress of the movement in favour of international arbitration throughout the world, as manifested in the resolutions of the Parliaments of England, Italy, Sweden, and America. The hall was well filled. The Rev. Hugh Stowell Brown presided, and was well supported by ministers and laymen of the town, who are favourable to the object of the meeting. After a vigorous speech from the chairman, the secretary, Mr. Hayward, read letters of apology from Professor Leone Levi, of King's College, London; Mr. P. Rylands, Warrington; Mr. Alderman Boothroyd, Southport. The first-named said:—

The great difficulty now before us is how to give a practical tendency to the very general expressions of such Parliaments. For this purpose I trust the peace societies may receive substantial aid from the two learned associations recently formed for the reform and consolidation of international law, which last met at Geneva. In any case, you must not slacken your effort in promoting the establishment of some effective mode of lessening the chances of war, which, alas! seem like a black cloud always to hover over the European horizon.

Mr. W. E. Turner moved the first resolution, which was as follows:—

That this meeting recognises with unmitigated pleasure the fact that many of the thoughtful and best minds of Europe and America long for the abandonment of the war system, and desire in place of it the establishment of a Court of Nations for the settlement of all international disputes.

This was seconded by Mr. Thomas Sharpe, who incidentally mentioned that in the late Franco-Prussian war 180,000 men were slain, and, including these, 450,000 men were placed *hors de combat*, and were in all probability disabled—a circumstance which, if the principles of international arbitration had been adopted, need never have occurred.

Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., who was received with loud applause, supported the resolution. In doing so, he said their platform was broad enough to admit men of all ranks, of all races, of all religions—of all, at least, who were willing to aid them in endeavouring to prolong the echoes of the angelic anthem, “Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace to men.” (Applause.) He adverted to this more particularly because he found that an unfortunate attempt had been made to connect this movement with political party. A gentleman enlightening the inhabitants of a neighbouring borough—Lieutenant-Colonel King—(laughter)—gave utterance to this sentiment:—“It was God's will that the power of the sword was the greatest power in the world—(cries of “Shame”), but the wretched Liberal party would not accept this truth.” (Laughter.) Perhaps Lieutenant-Colonel King did not know that the Foreign Secretary of the Government which was so unfortunate as to have him for its partisan was the first to attempt to settle the dispute between us and the United States by arbitration—(applause)—and, although, unhappily, Lord Derby did not succeed in his endeavour, to him distinctly and emphatically belonged the honour of the initiative. (Applause.) Perhaps Lieutenant-Colonel King did not know that the same Lord Derby, speaking in Liverpool six years ago, said this:—

We ought to place our point of honour, not in our readiness, hastily and impetuously, to resent any real or imaginary wrong, but rather in a willingness to submit to the dispassionate arbitration of some competent tribunal those claims which we think we may have upon others, and which others think they may have upon us. (Applause.)

Lieut.-Col. King, perhaps, did not know that the same distinguished statesman, speaking in the House of Commons in reference to the American business, said:—

Arbitration is simply this: no individual or nation is judge of its own cause; and if we want a fair and impartial judgment you must go to some one who is wholly unconnected with the transaction.” (Applause.)

Lieut.-Col. King, he thought, also did not know—and he thought if he had known it, it would have sent him into hysterics—(laughter)—that Lord Derby once addressed the members of the Peace Society in these words, and in his (Mr. Richard's) hearing:—

In regard to the general question as to the foreign policy of this country, there had been a great change of late years, and he thought he could congratulate the members of the Peace Society that their principles were becoming more popular. (Applause.) It is now known throughout Europe, much as other nations may have been puzzled by it—it is acknowledged as a fact that the policy of England is a policy of peace. Unfortunately, it is not so over the world. Never, perhaps, was there a period when armaments were so large and the rumours of war were so frequent. But this cannot last always. Out of this state of confusion and transition there must of necessity come a better state of things.

There are financial among other reasons why this cannot go on much longer since military expenditure must have nearly reached its limit, and when there will come a period of comparative disarmament, and, let us hope, general peace. And then, continued his lordship, addressing members of the Peace Society, you, gentlemen, will have the satisfaction of knowing that the ideas and principles you have been propagating will have had much to do in bringing to pass that condition of things. (Loud applause.)

Lieutenant-Colonel King did not know some other things. (Laughter.) One thing he did not know, and that was good manners, otherwise he would not have attacked a stranger who had not given him the smallest offence, and who was coming to this town on a matter totally unconnected with party. (Applause.) He (Mr. Richard) thought no Christian man could look abroad and contemplate the present aspect and attitude of Europe without feelings of sorrow and shame. For what did we see? In this nineteenth century of the Christian era we found all the Governments of Christian nations expending, beyond all comparison, the largest portion of their revenues, and not only so, but bestowing the largest part of all their rewards and emoluments and honours by which Governments could stimulate and encourage any pursuit, upon what? Upon multiplying their organisations for human slaughter, for inventing and perfecting, more and more, infernal machines, for the purpose of destroying human life and human property. (Applause.) What did they find besides? That they were drawing a larger and larger proportion of their subjects into military service, and that on a principle of reciprocal rivalry to which, as it seemed to him, there was no possible limit, except in the absorption of all the men and all the money of all those countries in their military and naval armaments. (Hear, hear.) In many of those countries now the whole male population was trained for arms, or nearly so. (Hear, hear.) As far as he could see, there were only two classes who were now omitted, and those were the women and the parsons. (Laughter.) According to a statement, or rather an elaborate statistical summary, given by the Berlin correspondent of the *Times* lately, it would appear that from 1859 to 1874 there had been added to the armies of Europe 1,513,120 men, and in this calculation he included only the five large Powers of Russia, Germany, France, Austria, and Great Britain; and according to the same authority the total armed land forces (for he did not include the navies) of these five States amounted now to 5,094,000 men. Well, what was the result of this? One result was an enormous addition to the burdens of the people. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Dudley Baxter, the eminent statistician, recently read a paper before the Statistical Society, in which he stated that in the last twenty-five years—but principally since 1859—an addition had been made to the national debts of the world of 2,980 millions sterling, so that they now made a total of 4,680 millions, and nearly all owing not for the purpose of improving the condition of the people in any way, but simply for the purposes of war and warlike armaments—(Shame)—and yet, if they looked into the internal condition of all those countries, what did they find? They found millions of the people sunk in the abyss of pauperism and misery; they found millions more who were trembling from year to year upon the verge of pauperism, and who only by the most incessant and grinding toil could keep that spectre away from their homes. (Shame.) Imagine what might be done if this broad stream of wealth which was being poured annually into the bottomless abyss of military expenditure was employed to fructify the moral wastes of humanity—(applause)—if it were employed to promote health, education, better dwellings, and the general improvement and well-being of the millions of the working-classes out of whose toil and sweat this money itself was extorted in order to be squandered in the way he had described. (Applause.) And what other effect was there? One effect was that in some countries the population was actually declining through the pressure of military service. In proof of this the hon. gentleman compared the census of France for 1866 with that for 1872, and having combated some of the assertions put forward by the opponents of international arbitration, he said the meeting would probably ask him what, in the midst of such a state of things, he could say which was calculated to encourage the friends of peace. In the first place, he counted something upon the spread of education and popular enlightenment. (Hear, hear.) The people of Europe, and especially the millions of the working classes of Europe, were beginning to understand this system better than they did. (Hear, hear.) It had often been discussed whether the Governments or the people were most responsible for war. He was afraid that the responsibility must be pretty evenly divided between them. Undoubtedly, it was the Governments that made the quarrels; how could it be otherwise? What did the millions in every country know about those diplomatic disputes and intrigues which issued in war? Where the people became guilty was in allowing themselves to be seduced too readily into espousing the quarrels of their rulers. (Hear, hear.) He did not want the people to be indifferent to the honour and dignity of their country. (Hear, hear.) He stood up for the honour of his country as much as any man—(Hear, hear)—but let the people calmly and carefully examine whether a delusion was not being practised upon them when attempts were being made to raise their enthusiasm in favour of war. (Applause.) People were beginning

to see that the whole moral of war was embodied in these verses:—

When'er contending parties fight
For private pique or public right,
Armies are formed and navies manned
To combat both by sea and land.
When, after many battles past,
Both tired of war make peace at last,
What is it after all that people get?
Why, widows, taxes, wooden legs, and debt.

(Laughter and cheers.) There was another encouraging fact, and that was the tendency which was manifested on all hands to refer disputes between nations to arbitration. They were told that arbitration was impracticable—that Governments and nations would never consent to submit matters in dispute between them to arbitration; but his answer to that was that they had done so and were doing so more and more. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) He could bring before them twenty cases within the last forty years in which disputes between great States, and small ones too, which in other ages would have inevitably led to war, had been disposed of in a satisfactory manner by a reference to a third party; and he thought they had a right to draw some encouragement from the fact that the principle had been entertained and adopted by so many Legislatures of Europe and America. He remembered twenty-three or twenty-four years ago, when his lamented and honoured friend Mr. Cobden—(cheers)—gave notice for the first time in the House of Commons of his intention to propose a motion in favour of arbitration, there was a titter of laughter throughout the whole House, so preposterous did the thing seem in the eyes of the collective wisdom. (Laughter.) But they went to work outside, and soon a wonderful change came over the spirit of their dreams in the House; and now they had the satisfaction of carrying it by a majority of ten. (Loud applause.) On the occasion of the debate on the motion, Mr. Gladstone said that he went with him (Mr. Richard) wholly in principle, only he thought the time for it had not come. Mr. Gladstone said that, though the principle of arbitration seemed to be adopted in this country, he doubted whether foreign nations were so prepared to accept it. Well, he (Mr. Richard), determined to put that assertion of the Prime Minister to the test; he determined to go forth on a pilgrimage of peace throughout Europe; and he went to Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, and France. And he was there to-night to say that wherever he went he was received with open arms, not only with respect, but with absolute enthusiasm, as the apostle of peace. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Richard then described at some length the progress of the movement in the countries he had visited, and, alluding to the large armaments which some countries maintained, said that it seemed to him that the nations were like the individual warriors of the middle ages, who kept adding more and more to their defensive armour until at last they became so heavy that they were totally unable to move in it. He was recommended to go to Sovereigns, but he refused, believing his mission was to the people. He wanted to get the representatives of the people, speaking the mind of the people as their natural and legitimate mouthpieces in the representative assemblies of the different countries; he wanted them to pronounce in favour of this idea; and if they could get the various Parliaments of Europe, one after another, to pronounce, as they were now pronouncing, in favour of the principle of arbitration, then they could go to the Governments and say the people were in favour of it, and the voice of the people must be listened to. (Applause.) He was not insensible of the difficulties that stood in the way of the attainment of their object. Did they suppose he had been fighting for thirty years with this great war system without being aware how formidable was its power? It was rooted deep in the traditions and in the prejudices of the nations. Poetry and fiction and romance had thrown around it the glamour of dazzling colours, which fascinated the eye and the imagination, especially of the young. (Hear, hear.) Large and powerful interests were intertwined in the system, and yet he believed greater were those who were with them than all those who were against them. (Applause.) Reason was for them, for war affronted justice; justice was with them, for war trampled humanity under foot; commerce was with them, for war deranged and destroyed all the interests of commerce; civilisation was with them, for war threw back civilisation into sheer barbarism again; the sweetest and strongest parts of our nature were with them, for war dealt with them in the most offensive manner by trampling them under foot; and he believed religion was with them; the blessing of Him who hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon the face of the earth he felt confidently and calmly was with them; and come what might, whether he should live to see the accomplishment of his object or not, so long as God gave him health and strength, all his faculties should be devoted to the great end to bring about peace throughout all the habitations of humanity. (Loud applause.)

Mr. T. Crossfield moved, and Mr. Rathbone, M.P. for Liverpool, seconded, a resolution cordially approving of the decisions of various legislatures in favour of the arbitration principle. The latter, in the course of his address, remarked how much less of bravado there was on the part of other nations towards England since the Geneva Arbitration. A further resolution, moved by Mr. Haywood, seconded by the Rev. G. S. Reaney, of War-

ington, and supported by Mr. W. Bradshaw, of Manchester, pledging the meeting in favour of every legitimate effort to attain their objects, was then adopted, and after votes of thanks the meeting came to an end.

On Wednesday, the 25th, there was a conference on international arbitration, in the Reform Club, Manchester, under the chairmanship of Mr. Henry Lee, who was supported on the platform by Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., Mr. R. Leake, Dr. Pankhurst, Rev. S. A. Steinthal, the Rev. H. Dowson, the Rev. J. S. Balmer, and Mr. Pollard, secretary of the Manchester Auxiliary of the International Arbitration Society. After a brief speech from the chairman, resolutions similar in substance to those of the Liverpool meeting were adopted, and Mr. Richard, M.P., addressed the meeting at some length, and was very cordially received. Several of the above-named gentlemen delivered speeches, and Mr. Richard was thanked for his address.

MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE ON THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION IN MANCHESTER.

There was a conference of ministers of all denominations between Berwick and Birmingham, convened by the British Temperance League, held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on Tuesday last week. Including lay visitors, there were about 1,000 persons present. The object was to consider the various aspects of the temperance movement, and what could be done to abate the stupendous evils of drunkenness, and it was understood that non-abstainers could be present, and invited to express their views.

The meeting was presided over by the Rev. W. Aitken, M.A., of Liverpool, who introduced the business in a brief speech. The Rev. Charles Garrett, of Liverpool, read a paper on the "Influence of drinking customs of society upon the work of the Christian Church," in which he endeavoured to show that the drinking customs limit the Church's pecuniary resources, hinder the success of the minister, Sunday-school teacher, tract distributor, home and foreign missionary. He also contended that "the social glass" lowered the tone of spiritual men, and promoted declension in grace and holiness, and often led to the fall of both members and ministers; and in conclusion he exhorted the ministers present to become nonconformists in their relation to the prevalent drinking usages of Christian society.

The discussion which followed, and which was well sustained until one o'clock, was founded upon the following resolution, moved by the Rev. Dr. Hewlett, of Astley:—

That this conference is of opinion that intemperance is the greatest outward hindrance to the progress of the Christian religion in the United Kingdom, as well as on many of its foreign mission-fields; not only alienating a large proportion of the population from public worship, but in many instances perniciously affecting members, and even pastors, of religious bodies; and that while the drinking customs which foster intemperance remain, the beneficial labours of the Christian Church must be, to a considerable extent, neutralised, and its progress seriously impeded.

This resolution was seconded by the Rev. John Jones, of Everton, who said that one distillery in Liverpool paid three-quarters of a million annually to the revenue, which, he said, was more than English Christians gave to send the Gospel to the heathen. The Rev. John Morgan, of Blackburn, and the Rev. Mr. Roper, an African missionary, followed. The latter stated that he had been three years in a heathen town of 150,000 people. In that time he had not seen three drunken men; and in all his travels he had never been able to find alcohol produced by nature as the good creature of God, and, therefore, concluded that it was the result of civilisation, a remark which elicited loud cheers. He was followed by the Rev. L. Jones, of Rochdale, who argued that indifference, and not drink, was the chief hindrance to the Gospel; by the Rev. J. F. Sparks, who, as a non-abstainer said that he was willing to sign the pledge if nothing else would do to save them from drunkenness. After some further discussion, the conference adjourned.

On resuming, the Rev. G. W. McCree, of London, read a paper on "How best to protect the young, and especially the Sabbath scholars, from the evils of the present drinking habits of the people." He recommended that Christian parents should banish wine and strong drink from their tables; that ministers and church officials should refuse to have strong drink associated with their Christian work, that they would form Bands of Hope, and attempt to reach drunken parents through abstaining children. "This would," he thought, "be a demonstration against 'publicans and sinners' who fatten on the vices and misery of England, and then feast solicitor-generals to glorify them. It would cleanse our souls from the guilt of supporting the most colossal, infernal, godless traffic the world has ever known, and enable us to show unto all men that we are prepared to lay down our lives to save the children of this age from becoming the drunkards of a future generation, and to rescue, if that be necessary, their father and mothers from a drunkard's fate." The Rev. J. S. Workman, Wesleyan minister, moved the following resolution:—

Painfully impressed with the fact that great numbers of young people, including many who have been trained in Sunday-schools and Christian families, are ensnared by the drinking customs of society, and thus lost to religion, and borne down to swell the streams of dissipation and ruin, this conference urges upon the attention of churches and Sunday-schools the necessity of adopting means of prevention, such

in Bands of Hope and the circulation of temperance literature, and would strongly commend to all parents the wisdom of discountenancing, by precept and example, the use of intoxicating drinks among their children.

A good deal of discussion followed on this paper. Mr. Workman strongly deprecated Mr. Gladstone's Wine Act as demoralising to the women of England, and the Rev. W. Caine, M.A., said he had known sixty Sunday-school teachers at a time to be in Salford Gaol, and that of 649 prisoners, 593 had been Sunday-school scholars. The next resolution was unanimously adopted.

In the evening a large public meeting was held in the same building, when T. B. Smithies, Esq., presided. The speakers were the Revs. Dr. Stock, of Huddersfield; G. W. Bardsley, St. John's, Liverpool; Canon Toole, Roman Catholic; Charles Garrett, J. S. Withington, R. McGrier, vicar of Rugeley; A. McCauley, Wesleyan; H. Tarrant, and J. C. Antliff, M.A.; and resolutions were passed declaring that the magnitude of the evils resulting from intoxicating drinks called for special means of counteraction; urging upon ministers and members of Christian Churches the duty of aiding the temperance reformation by "organisation, persuasion, example, and self-denial"; claiming the sympathy of patriots and philanthropists for "all well-considered legislative measures which would tend to diminish the number of houses licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquors, to further restriction in the hours of sale, to their closing during the whole of Sunday, or to the empowering of the people to protect themselves from the presence of such houses"; and adopting a petition to Parliament in favour of such legislation. It was stated in the course of the proceedings that besides the ministers present more than 2,000 regretted their inability to attend, many of whom wrote letters expressive of hearty approval and strongest sympathy; also that a letter had been received from the Bishop of Manchester, who could not attend, stating that he intended to hold a synod of his whole clergy in the Cathedral Church, and one of the subjects he proposed to bring before that meeting was the importance of helping the temperance movement in each of their parishes. The chairman, in the course of his opening speech, said he feared there was abundant evidence that intemperance among ladies had greatly increased. The proceedings were resumed on Wednesday, the Rev. Alexander McAulay, of Liverpool, in the chair. The Rev. J. M'Fadyen, of Manchester, read a paper recommending "That total abstinence was expedient for promoting temperance," and the first resolution on the programme was as follows:—

That, in the judgment of this conference, abstinence from all intoxicating drinks as beverages, if generally adopted by ministers and members of Christian churches, would greatly advance the cause of Christianity.

Before the resolution was proposed, the Rev. R. H. Lundie, of Liverpool, English Presbyterian, and the Rev. Thomas Macpherson, Liverpool, ex-Moderator of the English Presbyterian Synod, challenged the propriety of putting such a resolution in a conference which was partly composed of non-abstainers. After much discussion the resolution was moved by the Rev. J. E. Hazegreaves, of Hartlepool, and seconded by the Rev. G. Rids, of Chorley. Mr. Lundie moved as an amendment, "That inasmuch as the submission of this motion to the conference is not consistent with the constitution of the same, as consisting of abstaining and non-abstaining ministers, it be not adopted." Mr. Macpherson, in seconding the amendment, said that the resolution bore the necessary and logical inference that total abstainers, however moderate they might be, were hindering the cause of Christ. ("No, no," and "Hear, hear.") After some discussion, with a view of preventing a division, the Rev. M. Randells moved the following proposition:—

That this conference, while not questioning the conscientiousness of many who do not feel free to abstain from all intoxicating drinks as beverages, is convinced that already much good has occurred from such abstinence, and that if ministers and members of churches generally could see their way to adopt it, the cause of temperance would thereby be greatly promoted.

This was seconded by the Rev. Charles Garrett, of Liverpool, who said that, as a total abstainer who was beyond suspicion, he thought his friends had pressed their ultra-totalism too far. He bore testimony to the noble work which the mover and seconder of the amendment were doing in Liverpool to promote the cause of temperance, and he counselled moderation. After an exciting discussion the movers of the resolution and first amendment withdrew them, and Mr. Randells' proposition was adopted. The Rev. R. M. Grier, vicar of Rugeley, having read a paper on "Temptations of the Liquor traffic, and its influence in introducing intemperance and blocking the way of moral, social, and temperance reform, and the duty of the Christian Church in regard thereto," the Rev. T. Ryder, of Nottingham, moved:—

That this conference, believing that vice, crime, and misery have been enormously developed in the kingdom by its multitudes of licensed public-houses and beer-shops, declares its deep conviction that a traffic which was injurious to the material and moral well-being of the nation, ought not to have the sanction of its rulers or people.

The resolution was seconded by the Rev. Dr. Stock, Huddersfield. Mr. Lundie said that the resolution appeared to declare that a regulated liquor traffic was inadmissible in a Christian country, and moved, as an amendment, the addition of the words, "Traffic as now conducted ought not to have the sanction," &c. Mr. Macpherson seconded the amendment. The mover and seconder consented to the proposed alteration, and after an exciting discussion the motion, as amended, was adopted with two dissentients.

THE DUTCH PARLIAMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

Since Mr. Henry Richard carried, by a majority of ten (100 to 90) in the British House of Commons, a motion in favour of international arbitration, as a substitute for the horrors of the sword, similar motions have been successfully introduced and carried in both Chambers of the United States Legislature, in the Italian Parliament at Rome (without one dissentient), and in the Lower House of the Swedish Diet at Stockholm. By the following letter, just received by Mr. Richard, it will be seen that another Parliament, that of Holland, has also followed the example of the English House of Commons.

"The Hague, November 27, 1874.

"Dear Sir,—I have the satisfaction to inform you that this day, after a two days' debate, we have carried our motion on international arbitration (of which we gave notice on the 12th of October) by a majority of 35 against 30, in the Second Chamber of the States General of the Netherlands, fifteen members being absent.

"It appears that some of our opponents made a political question of it. But a proposition to adjourn the discussion until a later day was rejected in favour of my counter-proposition to leave our motion to its own inherent merits, without any further defence from our side and to close all further discussion and vote at once. This proposal being adopted, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, whilst approving the principle of our motion, disputed its opportuneness, and doubted the advisability of a small country like ours accepting it and so taking an initiative so important. After his speech, the debate being closed, the motion was carried, as above stated.

"I hope, dear Sir, that although this success may not be a brilliant one, all our English friends of kindred mind with ours, will rejoice in it, and that you, dear Sir, in particular, will acknowledge that M. Von Eck and myself have redeemed the pledge we gave you during your visit to this country, that we would do our best in this direction.

"I remain, dear Sir, yours most truly,

"T. P. BRADTUS,

"M.P. for Dordrecht (Dort).

"Henry Richard, Esq., M.P., London."

Epitome of News.

The Queen held a Council at Windsor on Saturday, previously to which the French Ambassador and the Spanish Minister had audiences of Her Majesty. The Columbian and Paraguayan Ministers presented their credentials.

The Prince and Princess of Wales have brought their visit to Panshanger Park to a close, and before returning to Sandringham on Saturday, received a loyal address from the borough of Hertford, which was gallily decorated in honour of the day.

The Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh left London for Eastwell Park on Wednesday. On arriving at Ashford, which was gallily decorated, an address of welcome was presented to their royal highnesses.

The Duke of Connaught, who is at Norwich, was thrown from his horse on Monday. One of his feet was injured, so that he was unable to take part in the football match. The consequences, however, are not regarded as serious.

Mr. Disraeli is laid up with an attack of the gout. On Monday he was considerably better, and for the first time for more than a week was able to leave his room.

No officer has been yet selected for the command of the proposed Arctic expedition, but it will, it is expected, be entrusted to Commander Alfred Markham, of H.M.S. Sultan, who has already had some experience in the Polar regions.

The Right Hon. W. E. Forster and Sir Fowell Buxton are expected to return to England from the United States about Christmas.

Dean Stanley was on Thursday elected Rector of St. Andrew's University by seventy votes, against sixty-six for the Marquis of Salisbury.

Mr. Gladstone, in a letter declining to attend a meeting of the Dundee Liberal Association, says that it is almost his daily duty to send similar replies, always with regret, but seldom with more than in the present instance.

Continuing the erection of statues, the Government have now placed in the Colonial Office statues of the following statesmen:—Lord Bathurst, Lord Ripon, the late Lord Derby, Lord Grey, the late Duke of Newcastle, and Sir William Molesworth.

The Dean and Chapter of Worcester have finally refused to grant the use of the cathedral for future musical festivals.

At a meeting of Middlesex magistrates on Thursday, presided over by Lord Salisbury, a resolution was passed in favour of the appointment of a public prosecutor in England and Wales.

At an uproarious meeting on Tuesday evening the adoption of the Public Free Libraries Act was rejected by an overwhelming majority of the Islington ratepayers.

The citizens of Edinburgh, without regard for sect or party, have resolved to erect a monument in memory of the late Mr. Adam Black, who twice filled the office of lord provost, for nine years represented the city in Parliament, and for the long

period of sixty years discharged important public duties.

No fewer than ten inquests were held in London during last week on persons who had died from the effects of the fog on their lungs.

It is rumoured that Liverpool, in recognition of its vast commercial and maritime interests, is shortly to be invested with the privileges and honoured with the rank of a city.

The farmers in connection with the Ely Defence Association have resolved to reduce the wages of their labourers from 13s. to 12s. a week.

The executive of the Electoral Reform Association have decided not to adopt the amendments in favour of adult and female franchise which were passed at last week's conference on the motions of Mr. Odger and Miss Becker. An agitation is promised on the original "platform" of the executive.

A very marked decrease is observed in the number of cases of drunkenness among the Irish classes at Leith, consequent on the temperance movement inaugurated by Father Fox, who has pledged nearly 500 persons within a few weeks.

It is believed that the question of a London municipality will be shelved for next session by the appointment of a commission of inquiry, as Lord Grey suggests.

The resignation is announced of Mr. Warren, the Recorder of Hull.

Mr. Gladstone, replying to an offer to confer upon him the freedom of Haddington, intimates that he must decline, on the ground that his arrangements for returning to the south will not allow him to visit the burgh. At the same time he expresses his appreciation of the sympathy and support he has received during many arduous years from the people of Scotland.

The Birmingham fat cattle, sheep, and pig show opened on Saturday.

A middle-aged man, respectfully dressed, threw himself from Clifton Suspension Bridge on Monday morning, and was killed. This is the eleventh suicide since the bridge was opened.

A number of distinguished guests are assembled at Sandringham to celebrate the birthday of the Princess of Wales, who completed her thirtieth year yesterday.

The Bank rate was raised on Monday from 5 to 6 per cent, owing to the drain of gold.

The *Hour* is able to give a positive denial to the continued statements in the Paris papers that the Prussian Government sent a communication to Mr. Disraeli with reference to his Mansion House speech.

A severe gale prevailed during the greater part of Sunday on the east coast of England and Scotland. In the afternoon the barque *Veteran* was wrecked while trying to enter Fraserburg harbour, and eleven men drowned. Seven lives were lost off Eyemouth, and three at Crail. Seafaring men in Scotland state that the storm was the worst that has been experienced for the last ten years. Two fishing smacks have been lost off Yarmouth, with all hands, during the recent gale. Many other casualties are believed to have occurred off the coast there.

BERKHAMSTEAD.—THE JOANNA NEALE ENDOWMENT.—The Charity Commissioners, who a short time since stated that this endowment was solely applicable to the benefit of the church at Berkhamstead, having suggested a division of the income between the senior elder or minister at Berkhamstead, and the junior elder at Chesham, a large meeting was held last Tuesday evening at Berkhamstead, the Rev. J. Harcourt presiding, at which about 400 adult members of the congregation at Chesham—coming from five to ten miles—were present. A resolution, proposing the adoption of the Charity Commissioners' suggestion, was moved and seconded, also an amendment that a committee of nine be appointed by each church to see if terms of arrangement can be come to and report to a future meeting, and after a discussion for two hours, the amendment was unanimously adopted, and an excited meeting was most amicably terminated.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.—Notwithstanding the unfavourable weather, there was a good attendance at Exeter Hall on Monday evening, when the second lecture of the course was delivered by the Rev. J. P. Chown, of Bradford. Mr. James Harvey occupied the chair. The lecturer commenced his address, which was on "The Bunyan Statue at Bedford," by describing its appearance, and drawing various appropriate lessons therefrom. Selecting two out of the main thoughts suggested by Bunyan's life, Mr. Chown proceeded in eloquent language to point out—first how it showed that by the grace of God a man may rise from the lowest depths to the noblest eminence to which he can attain; and secondly, that a man may not only rise, but be called upon to pass through times of trial and darkness before he does so. Referring to the three scenes in the Pilgrim's life represented on the base of the statue, the lecturer urged his hearers to keep their eyes fixed on the wicket-gate at the end of the journey as Christian did, and not allow themselves to be diverted into Eye-path Meadow; to lay their burden at the foot of the Cross, and like Christian in his fight with Apollyon, to be warriors as well as travellers. Sometimes God's faithful servants had to bear persecution and ridicule, and God for a time permitted them to be lost in a cloud, but only for a time. God will honour His faithful servants, in any and every department of life. At the conclusion of the lecture, the doxology was sung and the benediction pronounced.

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The CHURCH in the HIGHLANDS.

LONDON: LIBERATION SOCIETY,
2, Serjeants' Inn, Fleet Street.

NATIONAL PROVIDENT INSTITUTION.

MY LORDS, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,

The death of Mr. Jonathan Thorp occasions another vacancy in the Board of Direction of "The National Provident Institution," and, as the result of the Election to-day is in favour of Mr. Willans, I lose no time in announcing myself as a Candidate for the vacant Seat.

I have so recently stated at length the grounds on which I seek the support of the Members of our Institution, that I feel it is needless now to recapitulate them.

At the same time, allow me to say that I am a large Policy Holder of 23 years' standing; that I have an intimate acquaintance with Life Insurance business; that I am free from Business Engagements, and have ample time to devote to the duties of the office.

I take this opportunity of returning my sincere and hearty thanks to those Members who so kindly supported me in the late contest, and, while soliciting a continuance of their active co-operation, I also venture to hope that the Members who voted for Mr. Willans will at the coming Election record their Votes in my favour.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

PETER SPOKES.

Reading, Nov. 23, 1874.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

*. In consequence of the demands on our space this week, we have been unable to use several communications that have come to hand.

The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1874.

SUMMARY.

THOUGH the French National Assembly re-assembled on Monday, it has not yet proceeded to any other business than the election of President and Vice-Presidents. M. Buffet resumes his former position by favour of the votes of less than half of the House—the Left entirely abstaining; and the failure of the Duc d'Audifret Pasquier to obtain the requisite majority as one of the Vice-Presidents, is a sign that this nobleman, who favours an understanding with the Left Centre, is regarded as too Liberal by many of his Conservative friends. President MacMahon's expected Message is for the present withheld. It is stated that the document will have to be re-written, in consequence of the intervention of the Count de Chambord. That unfortunate marplot has sent a letter to one of his adherents, in which he expresses his belief that his friends will never vote anything which can prevent or delay the restoration of the Monarchy. With the Legitimists the expression of such a wish is to them a law, and some seventy deputies will thus feel bound to vote against the organisation of the Septennate. The Comte's missive has also thrown the President and his Cabinet into confusion. The Message to the Assembly is not expected, under the new circumstances, to make any reference to the Constitutional Laws. Possibly two of the Ministers, who are loyal Legitimists, will have to resign ere the policy of the Cabinet can be finally settled. This is a bad beginning for a Government which was noted chiefly for its weakness.

Marshal MacMahon has, however, now broken definitely with the Legitimists. For the rest, all serious politics are postponed till after the New Year. What the precise situation may be at Versailles after the lapse of another month, who can say?

A debate on an Alsace-Lorraine Bill in the German Parliament has once more elicited a trenchant speech from Prince Bismarck. He is not pleased with the attitude of the deputies of those conquered provinces, who object to the large grants to the Strasburg University and to the local schools. The Chancellor tells them with his usual blunt straightforwardness that his hope is fixed rather upon the rising than upon the present generation in those districts, and that his policy in relation to them would be guided by imperial and not by local considerations. From that position, he says, neither reproaches, threats, nor persuasion can move him. The German Government had other grounds of action than those of "the gentlemen whose past leads them to Paris, and whose present conducts them to Rome." Representatives from the annexed provinces had been summoned to Berlin, but he could make no further advance till he had discovered elements there to be trusted. His remedy for disaffection was "good schools." Prince Bismarck makes no concealment of his purpose, and that purpose has, as we recently stated, been to a certain extent realised. Alsace is being gradually Germanised. Hence the prince's confident tone.

The old story comes from Madrid. Marshal Serrano—albeit winter weather has set in—is about proceeding to the seat of war in the north with considerable reinforcements, and we have the customary announcements that the Carlist chiefs are falling away from the Pretender—Saballs, an active officer, being specially mentioned. Don Carlos, who has reoccupied his old positions up to Irun, can do nothing substantial to advance his cause, and though his army is good, its component parts positively refuse to leave their own localities and march to Madrid. Throughout Biscay and Navarre there is an utter weariness of this resultless and desolating war, and the population seem now to think more of their material interests than of the claims of Charles VII. Apparently they are ripe for an arrangement with the National Government based on a concession of their local fueros. If Marshal Serrano is really going to the north, it is probably more with a view to ratify some transaction which will ensure the submission of the insurgent provinces, than to brave the hardships of another campaign.

In the Dutch Chamber of Deputies a resolution in favour of settling international disputes by arbitration was carried against the Government by a majority of five. Similar resolutions have, as is well known, been carried in the Legislatures of Italy, Sweden, and the United States. In neither case do they, for the present, imply practical action, but such discussions and votes must have a material effect in informing and ripening public opinion on the subject. It will be seen that Mr. Richard, M.P., has recommenced his campaign in this country in favour of international law and arbitration as a substitute for war, commencing with Liverpool and Manchester. During his visits to the various countries of Europe he was received as "the apostle of peace," and met with signal encouragement. His object is now thoroughly to familiarise the British people with the practical plans so well laid down at the Geneva Conference in the summer. In such a question the action of England would have immense weight with other nations, and Mr. Richard avows his belief that if the women of Europe, the ministers of all denominations, and the public press, could only be induced to bring their united influence to bear against the present system of armaments, which cost Europe no less than four hundred millions sterling to sustain, it would be overturned in ten years.

Our old American correspondent "A Cosmopolitan" sends us the result of his observations on the recent signal defeat of the Republican party. One principal cause of their overthrow was, he says, the sectional interference of teetotalers. On this point our correspondent remarks:—

Prohibition has clearly lost Ohio and Massachusetts to the Republicans. In Ohio the women's crusade of last year has resulted in a reaction which will probably kill the moderate and really effective Local Option Law for many years. In Massachusetts the issue distinctly was Prohibition or non-Prohibition, and the Republicans, through their semi-alliance with the Prohibitionists, were badly beaten in the very State which originated the Republican party. The experience of other States has been similar; and being myself a temperance man, I regret that temperance reformers so often carry their hatred of moderation to the extent of excluding the word from their political programme. No law obnoxious to the people can be permanently enforced by any legislature. Hence temporary victories on the part of Prohibitionists amount to very little, and are speedily reversed.

The writer thinks that free-trade or tariff reform will be one of the questions of the future—for the change of public feeling on the subject during the last few years has been very marked. "Throughout the West there is an intense feeling against a system which enriches one small section of the people at the expense of all the rest"; and if the Republicans are not prepared to move in the direction of free-trade "the West will be permanently lost to them." Our correspondent also refers to the great corruption in the Government departments engendered by the civil war; the suggested third term for President Grant; the high-handed proceedings of the "carpet-baggers" in the South; and the improved relations between the whites and coloured people, as having helped to bring about the late reaction. On the point last referred to "A Cosmopolitan" says:—"Education is quietly solving the negro difficulty, and as common schools are extended, coloured voters naturally use their intelligence to choose their own side in politics. Once educate the African, and the Republican monopoly of negro votes is gone for ever." Whether the tide has permanently turned in favour of the Democratic party is still open to doubt:—

The Democratic revival may gather strength until in 1876 the destinies of the nation are held in its grasp, or it may be that the Republicans, affrighted at the result of their wayward follies and lack of union, may close up their ranks and speedily repair their temporary losses. That the Republicans if united are still the strongest party is unquestionable, but the tendency in this country is for parties very quickly to fall to pieces whenever decay commences. There is no such thing as forecasting the future of a fickle people, and all that can with certainty be affirmed is that we have reached a great crisis in public affairs.

The excitement caused by Mr. Gladstone's philippic against the Vatican Decrees has not yet subsided, and the enormous sale of the pamphlet shows how deep is the public interest in the question which the right hon. gentleman has stirred. The Pope, on second thoughts, meets the emergency by rejoicing at the progress of the Roman Catholic religion in England, leaving it to be inferred that Mr. Gladstone's brochure had its origin in the fear of Romish triumphs in this country. Though the complacency of Pius IX. has little warrant in facts, his present rôle is an improvement on his former attitude, when he condescended to call the Liberal leader "a viper." Archbishop Manning, now at Rome for nomination as a cardinal, has also acted in a characteristic fashion—having left behind him "a sort of ecclesiastical thunderbolt" to be launched at the heads of certain distinguished Roman Catholics who have ventured to speak disrespectfully of the Infallibility dogma. He does not excommunicate them—that would hardly do just now. Nor does he deny them the sacraments. But he announces with "ascetic severity" that such persons cannot receive them without "committing a sacrilege." While Roman Catholic dignitaries continue to proclaim with emphasis their unflinching loyalty to the Crown, we find the organs of the Vatican at Rome treating the subject in a somewhat different fashion. One of them declares that if Roman Catholics "do not now seek to dethrone their oppressors," it is due only to their "heroic patience." A man who puts his country before his Church puts the world before God, and men like Lord Acton, Lord Camoys, and Mr. Henry Petre have absolutely ceased to be Catholics. Mr. Gladstone has associated himself with "reptiles," and the most polite thing that can be said of him is that he "is not a Jew scribbler." We certainly know more of the true spirit of Ultramontanism than before the issue of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet. In England its adherents will always get justice, though they are losing former claims to confidence.

FRANCE.

ANOTHER session of the French National Assembly was opened at Versailles on Monday last. The proceedings were of a merely formal character, resembling in some respects the meeting of a new Parliament at Westminster. The various Bureaux, or, as we should call them, Standing Committees, had to be selected, and the President of the Assembly to be chosen. The House, in fact, had to organise itself, before any important business could be entered upon. All this, or most of it, is a matter of dull routine. It may be likened to the donning of their armour by antique warrior chiefs before going into battle. The grand signal for the commencement of political hostilities will be the communication of Marshal MacMahon's Message, of the tenor of which (at the present moment of writing) the public knows nothing. We shall not tantalise our readers by parading the speculations of Paris politicians in regard

to the probable drift and purport of this anticipated State document; still less shall we worry them with any conjectures of our own. We must be content with simply announcing the fact that a new session is begun, and with noting some of those circumstances of recent occurrence which may very probably have a marked influence upon its future history.

Among these, the first place is due to the results of the Municipal Elections. They are not, perhaps, in all cases to be looked upon as infallible tests of public opinion. The offices thereby disposed of are not political. The functions of municipal bodies have little or nothing to do with politics. The influences which ordinarily prevail at the election of these councils are, for the most part, local. In many instances, in towns as well as in rural communes, no pressure of public opinion would avail to substitute political creeds for personal popularity in the candidate, as a reason for the votes given to him by his neighbours. And this would be more especially the case in the sparsely populated districts of the country. Persons would be chosen in such places either because they were well known or generally respected, or believed to be well acquainted with the wants of the neighbourhood, whether they sympathised with Conservatism, Bonapartism, or Republicanism. Under these circumstances, the attempt ventured upon by the Republicans all over France to make the Municipal Elections to turn upon their own party distinction, has been strikingly successful. To a large extent they were overriding the habits of the electors, and had to encounter the adverse votes, not only of those who were politically opposed to them, but of a large number who resolved, as of yore, to be guided rather by local considerations than by political preferences or prejudices. It is not to be inferred that the Municipal Bodies that have been returned will, or can influence, to any appreciable degree, the conduct of public affairs, so far as France as a whole is concerned. But there can be little doubt that as a demonstration the effect will be very powerful. In most of the large towns, in many of those of second and third-rate importance, in a considerable number of villages even, the Republicans gained a decided majority; and this success was capped, on Sunday last, by the Paris Municipal Elections, which, in conformity with the well-known opinions of that metropolitan constituency, gave an unprecedented triumph to the Republican party.

The National Assembly, split up as it is into upwards of a dozen sections irreconcilable one with another on some points of difference, will certainly feel more or less the pressure upon its own proceedings of these external facts, and of the forces which they disclose. So far as appearances go, sectional animosities have not abated during the recess. Each fraction of a party holds with as much tenacity as ever to the paramount importance of the theories about which it has crystallised. There has been no rubbing-down of sharp angles by mutual contact. There is no increased disposition to concede a trifle for the sake of the country. Intolerance continues to be the fashion of the hour, quite as much as it was before the Assembly went into its temporary retirement. The process of "giving and taking" seems to be impracticable to the French political mind. "Aut Caesar, aut Nullus," might be very pertinently assumed by every distinct section of the Legislature as the motto to be inscribed upon its flag. Even Marshal MacMahon himself has set the bad example of counting the will of France as of less authority to him as the Chief of the Executive Power, than the will of the Conservative party to which he belongs. He will retain office only as a Conservative, or rather he will at all hazards retain office to the end of his legally allotted term, but will govern only in the interests of Conservatism. No taint of Republicanism will be permitted to infect his councils. No leaven of Radicalism will be suffered to ferment in his Cabinet. He gave himself out in the very commencement of the Septennate as a party man, identified with party interests, and intending to use the powers put into his hands by the Assembly for party purposes.

What can be done, what can be expected, in such a thing? The President urges the immediate organisation of his Septennate—in other words, the formation of Constitutional agencies, by means of which he may carry on to the close of his term the Government of the country. Hitherto, as is too well known, the Assembly has failed to respond to the demand. It cannot do so. It is too divided and distracted to give even a promise of hope to any definite line of policy. There has been, it is true, much talk of late of a possible agreement between the Right and the Left Centres, which, if effected,

would constitute a majority of moderate men, Conservative and Liberal. But from what we are able to gather, no real progress has been made towards reconciliation. The Right are naturally reluctant to resign all prospect of restoring a Monarchy. The Left, discerning that the choice of France will at last have to lie between a Republic and the Empire, are equally anxious that the Septennate should be organised upon a Republican basis. Unless the two Centres can arrive at some mutual understanding, one does not see what the Assembly can do but bring Parliamentary Government into irretrievable disgrace. The world will not have to wait much longer. The struggles of party may be adjourned over Christmas, but the next year will probably be the last to witness the usurpation of the National Assembly.

THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION.

It is refreshing to read of a revival of the agitation in favour of the temperance cause—still more so of meetings with a view to abate the terrible evils of the drinking system, in which persons outside the ranks of total abstainers were invited to take part. Such was the character of the conference held last week at Manchester, to which were invited all ministers of religion in the North of England. The deep interest which is felt in the subject was shown not only in the large attendance of ministers of various communions, but in the expression of sympathy on the part of many hundreds who were unable to be present. It is clear that throughout England there is a latent force of enormous power in favour of all reasonable modes of abating, if not extirpating, the drinking habits of the country, apart from legislative action, which the zealous leaders of the temperance movement would do well to enlist in their favour, and which they have too long neglected. The strength of that moral influence is to be found amongst large masses of the population who, for the present, despair of the success of coercive legislation, and who cannot accept the teetotal principle.

The attempt to promote the temperance cause on this new and enlarged platform at the Manchester conference is a hopeful sign of the times. The experiment was somewhat hazardous, and though not signally successful, was certainly not a failure. That the papers read to the meeting breathed an uncompromising spirit, was no more than might have been expected. The enthusiasm and even the fanaticism of total abstainers, considering the gigantic nature of the vice against which they wage war, is not unnatural. But when they invite the co-operation of those who can only partially accept their views, some concession is required by the necessities of the case. Few as were such supporters of the temperance cause present at the conference referred to, they had a legitimate claim that the resolutions proposed should not do violence to their feelings, or to the terms of the invitation sent out. This point, after much lively discussion, and through the influence of the more judicious champions of the teetotal cause, was at length conceded. The practical argument urged by the Rev. C. Garrett, of Liverpool, in support of this policy was irresistible. He told the conference that the two Presbyterian ministers, who had been most urgent in asking the acceptance of a broader platform, were among the most successful temperance missionaries in the town whence he came. Why should then co-operation, in abating a terrible evil, be thrown away on account of theoretical differences, when every kind of effort was needed? This is a good beginning. The *Times* very justly says:—"It has hitherto been the misfortune of this cause that the struggle has been almost wholly between two extreme parties. The teetotallers have refused to recognise any possibility of a wholesome use of alcoholic drinks, and have denounced as almost foes of the human race alike those who sell and those who consume them. The inevitable consequence is that they have driven the Licensed Victuallers into the opposite extreme, and every attempt to improve existing regulations in the interests of the public welfare has been resented as a blow in an internecine warfare. The public at large could not feel thorough sympathy with either side in the struggle, and the potent force of general opinion has consequently been in a great measure held in suspense." But it is never out of place or unreasonable to enforce the temperance principle, which enlists the sympathy of all persons who seeing the desolating effects of excess in drink, are disposed to use their influence, whatever it may be, to extinguish it.

The necessity for the increased use of moral suasion on the part of temperance reformers is the more imperative, seeing that the drink traffic cannot be stamped out by law. This is

a matter on which there ought to be no illusions. If prohibitive legislation were successful, the advantages which would result from eradicating the drinking habits of the population would apparently be so immeasurably great, that many who hold the principle to be unsound would cheerfully acquiesce in such interference. It is a question of experience, and we can go to the United States for a practical test. What is the result?—a conflict of evidence, but so far as we can see, with a decided preponderance against the efficacy of penal legislation. In one of his recent sketches sent across the Atlantic, Mr. Hepworth Dixon describes the result of his visit to St. Johnsbury, Vermont, where what is called the Maine Liquor Law is carried out, as in other parts of the New England States, "with the unflinching rigour of an Arctic frost." In that little town there is not a single public-house, "nor can a mug of beer or a glass of wine be purchased openly by a guest to whom wine and beer are portions of his daily food." Mr. Dixon adds:—

Intoxicating drinks are classed with poisons, such as laudanum and arsenic; but as poisons may be needed in a civilised country, under a scientific system of medicine, laudanum and arsenic are permitted to be sold in every civilised State. Such is here the case with brandy, beer and wine. A public officer is appointed by a public vote. The town lays in a stock of brandy, beer, and wine, which is carefully registered in books and kept under lock and key. These poisons are doled out, at the discretion of this officer, in small quantities, very much as deadly nightshade and nuxvomica are doled out by a London druggist. "Cannot you get a bottle of cognac for your private use?" I asked Col. Fairbanks. "I can send my order," he replies, "for a pint of cognac; it will be sent to me of course; but my order for it will be filed, and the delivery entered on the public books for every one to see." "You find that system rather inquisitorial, do you not?" "Well, no; it is intended for the common good, and every one submits to what is for the good of all. We freely vote the law, and freely keep the law. In St. Johnsbury there is no drunkenness. The intelligent craftsmen of the place are the warmest advocates of the prohibitive liquor law. They voted for it in the outset; they have voted for it ever since. Each year of trial makes them more fanatical in its favour. After referring to sundry drawbacks, Mr. Dixon says:—

What then remains? The workman's paradise remains; a village which has all the aspect of a garden; a village in which many of the workmen are owners of real estate; a village of nearly five thousand inhabitants, in which the moral order is even more conspicuous than the material prosperity; a village in which every man accounts it his highest duty and his personal interest to observe the law. No authority is visible in St. Johnsbury. No policeman walks the streets—on ordinary days there is nothing for a policeman to do. Six constables are enrolled for duty, but the men are all at work in the scale manufactories; and only don their uniform on special days, to make a little show.

Testimony equally recent, and quite as trustworthy, is given by Mr. J. W. Willans in a letter which appeared in the *Leeds Mercury* of last week. His evidence is all the more valuable as coming from one who is, we believe, a staunch friend of the temperance cause. Mr. Willans writes under date Nov. 11 from Portland, the chief town of the State in which the first great experiment in prohibitive liquor laws was made. He found the Maine Law a dead letter. He was told by teetotalers that the enactment only existed to be broken, that its only effect was to cause more money to be invested in the drink traffic, and that Portland had as many rum-shops as any other town with 30,000 inhabitants. Mr. Willans thus sums up the result of his observations and inquiries in Portland:—

It seems to me to suggest that prohibitive legislation in this matter is worse than valueless where it is not sustained by the moral sense of nearly the whole of the community for which it is designed; and that, when so large a proportion of the community has the moral sense that would render it operative, it ought not to be difficult to win over the small residue by some "more excellent way." Let me add, as to Boston, that the defeat of Governor Talbot, a most respectable and highly-respected man, and the election of a Democrat for the first time in forty years, is, according to testimony on every hand, mainly owing to his pronounced adhesion to the Prohibitory Liquor Laws of his State. They are impracticable in their proper intent, and exist only as an "organised hypocrisy." Many who have voted against Talbot, and so against these laws, would have been willing to continue them if they could have been enforced equally "all round," but they could not be, and they will perish and leave the memory of another injustice wrought by or through men who all the while meant to further virtue and righteousness.

We leave these facts and inferences to make their own impression, with the single remark that prohibition laws clearly require the moral support of a large proportion of the community ere they can have any chance of being really operative; and that in England the work of the temperance reformer, for the present at least, lies in his power of persuasion—his missionary agencies—rather than in attempts to coerce a Parliament, which is after all the true reflex of the nation, and is wholly unprepared for penal legislation in respect to the drink-traffic.

Literature.

MR. PARKINSON ON STATE CHURCHES.*

(First Notice.)

Our readers will feel, with us, the melancholy interest attaching to this work. Its rarely-gifted author, who had given months of devoted labour to its production, is in the grave. Before us, his work lives, instinct with a devout and vigorous spirit, beautiful in the form impressed upon it by himself. Human affection dictates regret that our friend does not see his work with us—visibly in our own company—and yet had we the power, few would now call him back from his nearness to the Divine Presence. He, doubtless, is satisfied with what is: we have to take the fruit of his labour with gratitude, and show our regard for his memory by illustrating our sense of its worth.

Mr. Parkinson not having lived to see this work through the press, his representatives committed it to the editorship of the Rev. Thomas Green, of Ashton-under-Lyne, to whom, we believe, we owe several of the valuable "Notes" illustrative of the text, which are added to it. In a preface by the editor, it is explained that the work was undertaken by the author "with the view of dealing with 'some of the graver aspects of the argument advanced in defence of the State-Church system.'" After a reference to the *Peek Prize Essays*, the editor adds that Mr. Parkinson "did not feel it necessary to restrict 'his remarks exclusively to the 'Essays,' and that—

"The reader will perceive that other apologists of the Establishment have been criticised, especially Dean Stanley in his work entitled 'Essays on Church and State,' and Mr. Curtis in his Bampton Lectures on 'Dissent.' It also appeared necessary to the author to advert to the rise of Episcopacy, and to its introduction into this country. It is no part of his argument to condemn Episcopacy, or any other form of church government; but the claims of Episcopacy being directly and indirectly connected by the essayists with their reasonings on behalf of the Establishment, it became needful to examine them. This part of the book will be found to be characterised by a learning, candour, and ability not inferior to that which is displayed in the other portions of the work."

The author has drawn his plan upon a broad scale, and laid his foundation deep in Christian truth. First, under the title of the "Idea of the Christian Church" he inquires what that Church was, as founded by the Apostles, and then contrasts that idea with some realisations with which the State-Church system has made us but too familiar. The brotherhood, unity, and simplicity, of the early Church are described. Then came the departure into a more elaborate and human organisation. The manner in which Mr. Parkinson treats this branch of his subject may be gathered from the following paragraph:—

"Nothing is gained in any argument by concealing what has been advanced in favour of the position to be assailed. The tendency to ecclesiastical supremacy has been declared to be a necessity of the times, to enable the Church to marshal its ranks against the contending forces of the world, under leaders who should be entitled to speak in its name. Even writers who have admitted the separate and congregational character of the first churches, have regarded the new order not only as a needful organisation in contending with heresy from within, but as their absolute salvation in the midst of the assaults to which they were exposed. But it manifests small faith in the spiritual power of religion, thus to place its security, to hang its existence, on a new form of Church order. For the external organisation thus made visible to society became more and more external merely. In proportion as the walls were built up and armed, the treasure they guarded became continually less valuable. It can scarcely be the salvation of a Church to surrender its essence in the maintenance of its accidents. While the priests marched forth to meet the foe, the fire died out upon the altar, until at last nothing was left but pompous externals hiding an empty shrine, and religion forsook the Church which was professedly the depository of its power, to wander into solitudes ecclesiastical anathemas could not penetrate."

Taking his stand upon the idea of the Christian Church, which he finds in Scripture and early history, the author remarks that he would revert, in the present great controversy "to the primitive model of the Church, and see in the departure from it the true source of the corruptions by which it has been disfigured. 'We have striven,' he says, 'to give a glimpse of this vision which was lent to the world for so short a time, that we may desire to have it restored to our eyes. With it would come back to us the real power of religion—the purity and the vigour of Christian life.'

From this subject the author passes to the Scriptural argument in favour of an Established Church—an argument which, as he remarks, is

* *Modern Pleas for State Churches Examined.* By the late HENRY WILLIAM PARKINSON, Independent minister, Rochdale. (Longmans, Green and Co.)

touched upon so lightly by the essayists as to be "almost avoided." He examines the subject by the light of the Old and New Testaments, laying stress in conclusion upon the fact that nothing has hindered the progress of the Christian Church so much as the unlawful weapons that have been used in its name. The third and next section is entitled the "Internal Preparation of the Church for Establishment," including the rise of Sacerdotalism. This is an eloquently-written chapter on Christian historical philosophy, and tempts us to great quotation. We yield to the temptation so far as regards the last paragraph:—

"In the fulness of mediæval splendour, the Church of Christ and His apostles could no longer be recognised. An outward magnificence had usurped the place of the simple religious life enjoined in the New Testament. The kingdom 'not of this world' had clothed itself with the pomp of outward glory. Magnificent churches, muttered prayers, mitred priests, twinkling tapers, floating incense, gorgeous processions, responsive chantings, the host uplifted, the crowd prostrate—these were the substitutes of the simple, but intelligent and heartfelt, worship of the early Church. The corruption of Christianity was so complete, that if the Apostle Paul could have reappeared, he would scarcely have recognised in the gorgeous ceremonial of the Middle Ages, and in the royal state of the Roman Pontiffs, the religion to whose service he had consecrated his life, and in whose faith he had died. One who had caught his spirit in the presence of these pompous shows—where the absence of life was hidden under the costliest mausoleum—might almost have despaired of the future of the world. Yet away from all these signs of visible grandeur—unknown, or despised of these prelates who ruled equally the Church and State—hidden away in their quiet retreats—were still humble, praying souls, who had found their own way into the secret of the Divine life. In them lay concealed the resurrectionary power of Christianity. In their hearts stirred the leaven which, overmastering the formalism of a thousand years, was to reassert the power of religion in human society."

We next have a presentation of the Roman Establishment as founded by Constantine—a vivid description of the gradual corrupting influence of the human inventions which have been introduced into the Church. The English Establishment is next described—its origin, its development, and its distinctive characteristics. Mr. Parkinson lays emphasis upon the fact that the Church in this country was established by rulers, and that, in the character of the mission of Augustine, we have the keynote of English ecclesiastical history. He traces the increasing Roman impress upon the Church, its legal character, its despotic tendency, the jealousies, and the ultimate revolt it excited.

"Church Property" follows, the author prefacing this section with the remark that it is with "almost a feeling of humiliation" that he enters upon the consideration of such a question in his argument. "Establishment," he adds, "would seem to be much less valuable 'in the eyes of Churchmen than endowment.'" He proceeds to examine or, we may say, expose, the origin of this property, and to discuss the general value of endowments. The freshness with which this subject is treated will be very acceptable to the reader. Of the style we cannot do better than give the following illustration:—

"Of course all proposals to touch ecclesiastical endowment are represented as gross injustice. The nicknames of 'spoliation' and 'robbery' have been applied to them. We are told that they are as much as to say 'that the longer a thing has been held in possession the less right there is to hold it,' and we are asked why the endowments of Dissenting communities should be spared if those of the Church are taken away? But, at least, the older the property the more obscure is the title. It is acknowledged by one essayist that the proof of the private origin is somewhat indirect, and by another that the first endowments were probably national. When they differ we may be left free to form our own conclusions. Property left by utterly unknown donors, under such circumstances as we have recited, to a Church teaching Roman doctrine, ruled by prelates usually in allegiance to the Roman See, the only Church in the land,—would, we suppose, be judged to rest on a different basis to property left in trust to specified religious denominations by deeds which exist, and can be produced at any moment. But we make light of such threats. If ever the people, through the legislature—and in no case could it be done in any other way—were to seize our chapels and colleges as national property, we should either set to work to build others, or do without them and worship in hired rooms; and perhaps spread our principles all the faster. The suggestion is not happy. The right of the Church to property acquired since any liberty of bequest has been enjoyed has never been disputed; and if the Dissenting property of yesterday is to go, Church disendowment must come down as far, so that it amounts to the proposition of a religious equality of a very sweeping kind."

In the seventh section the "Definitions and Theories of Establishment," are discussed. Here the author examines, with that acuteness which was one of his most marked intellectual characteristics—all the various definitions and theories—Hooker's, Warburton's, Paley's, Gladstone's, Coleridge's, Dean Stanley's, the Essayists', and others, pitting them each against the other. Having done so he forcibly says:—

"These various definitions and theories prove how little agreement there is as to the grounds on which a State Church should be maintained. They cannot all

be true, and they are possibly all false. When the messengers come back with so many replies, we may fairly suppose a valid argument is difficult to find. They all labour under the fatal objection of being fanciful visions of a state of things never yet realised in the history of the world, and not to be realised at all in this outward way—of an ideal community, in which the form of religion, and that the true form, should be established by law with the full consent and willing attendance of the people. Such a result, unless it should one day grow out of the root of Divine truth, could be reached only by reconciling impossibilities—the imposition of a creed with liberty of belief (a problem which, in a certain way, the Church of England has nearly succeeded in solving), and the legal prescription of a tax with the readiness of a voluntary offering. What contradictions are involved in these theories! May the State impose any creed, or only the true creed? How is it to know the true creed? If it should impose one containing any false article, would it be the duty of the citizen to believe it? If the State alters its creed, must the people go over with it? What has the civil Government to do with religious opinion?

"We will venture to say that if religious equality had existed in England—if Churches of different beliefs and different modes of government, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, had thriven side by side, their members equally enjoying the protection of the State in the preservation of the civil rights they possessed in common, and the impartiality of the State as to the religious opinions in which they differed, these theories would never have been set up. The State Church is an offender against the equal rights of all men before the law, and these theories are accomplices after the fact."

Here, for the present, we must conclude. We have said and quoted sufficient to indicate the high character of this work. Next week we will resume our review.

"SOCIAL PRESSURE."

Sir Arthur Helps reintroduces us to our old friends, Milverton, Mauleverer, Ellesmere, Cranmer, and the rest, not forgetting that energetic and prudent private secretary, Alexander Johnston, who in his mingled originality, reserve and helpfulness, may be regarded as a type. In their discussions on the several topics presented to us, we have all the old characteristics—the humour, the grace of good society, the tact, and adroit manipulation of points, which marked the earlier conversations. And one point deserves to be especially signalled in favour of this book. There is far less in it than in the former ones of obliqueness, and of that mere playfulness and abandon of mind, which, while it delighted critics and very cultivated people, was apt to militate against the widest popular success, because the reader often felt very uncertain of the writer's own opinion—even of his drift. But in this case, though the friends discuss, and bring fresh points to light, and are very often very humorous, sarcastic, and playful, the author's own earnestness and practical aims are clearly apparent, and cannot but make themselves powerfully felt. And in this case the topics themselves, we are inclined to think, are of the class to come more "directly home to the business and bosoms" of men in the mass, than was generally the case with the former volumes. This work is rightly named; for taken broadly, its aim is to bring out strikingly how much the individual suffers from Society—from State necessity, from State neglect, from the toleration of vested interests in a thousand shapes, from the blindness and stupidity of communities, from the frightful evils that come of the large attention given to political party questions that concern themselves often with matters far off compared with that given to social questions, which concern themselves with matters near at hand and vital both to general and to individual health and welfare. Perhaps some of our readers may remember how that deeply-to-be-regretted reformer, Edward Denison, was wont to say that the time was near at hand when social questions would determine and take precedence of political ones. When this time can be said to have come, it will also be said that Sir Arthur Helps has done no little towards bringing it by the publication of this "Social Pressure."

The work is dedicated to the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., who "being freed from the 'trammels of office will be able to give more attention to those social subjects which are chiefly discussed in this volume." And Sir Arthur proceeds:—

"These measures are happily beyond the region of political strife; but the final purpose at which they aim cannot be attained without aid from the leading statesmen of the day."

"I take the opportunity which this letter affords me of mentioning that Mr. Milverton's Essays were written long ago: long before they were read to the 'Friends in Council.' If I were not to make this statement, it would seem ungracious on his part that he had not alluded to the many great efforts which have already been made by individuals for the furtherance of those objects which he had most in view when writing some of these essays."

"In providing open spaces for recreation in and near large towns, and in forming townships of dwelling-places for artisans, sundry benevolent persons have

already bestirred themselves, and have effected much good. It is but just to notice these improvements; but, as Mr. Milverton says, if all the benevolent and powerful people were to interest themselves for a whole generation in effecting these objects, too much would not be done to overtake the consequences of former oversight and neglect."

The very first essay in the volume is of prime importance. How "towns may be too large" is demonstrated with great clearness and subtlety. It is evidently the result of much thought and large experience, and it touches some of the most difficult and at the same time pressing problems of our modern civilisation, which re-emerge again, and are taken up more methodically and fully in later sections. When it is laid down that "one of the greatest evils of modern life is the existence of great 'towns,' the sentence bears the air of paradox, but point after point is made in its favour, and more than one-half the book is an illustration of its truth by examples. "Work," says the author, "is made more difficult; play (which 'is after all a great part of a man's 'life) is far more difficult. It seems a small thing to say, but it is a most serious thing 'with regard to the happiness of mankind, 'that a busy man, in these centres of population, cannot, after the toil of the day, take a walk into the country.' . . . 'True,' says Sir Arthur, 'there are railways which 'afford a large means of daily exit into the 'fresh air for London people.' But he qualifies this by a sharp glance at one of the most pervasive and fruitful causes of class-strife, opposition, and discontent. The amelioration that came of kindly contact and social sympathy in old times is lost. He writes:—

"It is the thousands who go: it is the hundreds of thousands who remain. And this brings me to another very important branch of the subject. The fact of these thousands going away makes it worse for the hundreds of thousands who remain. Those who have their homes out of London can hardly be expected to care much for their own neighbourhoods in London—the neighbourhoods of their places of business, not their homes. This feeling, too, affects the higher classes, who, when they are summoned to London for business or for pleasure, live in London, and do not patronise suburban dwellings. But they have little love for their neighbourhoods; and the moment that the course of business, or the dictate of fashion, enables them to escape from London, they lose no time in doing so."

Charity is rendered difficult; pure pleasure scarcely to be enjoyed; property is incalculably injured by the pall of smoke—hundreds of tons of coal, as Count Rumford said, being suspended in the air;—and cleanliness rendered almost impossible. We all remember how that Mr. Ruskin was thought to be half mad by many people when he protested that buildings for mere use and traffic should be made as strong and plain and ugly as possible, and that decoration should be reserved for dwellings round which associations could gather, and that this was rendered the more imperative by the house and the shop or office being, not as in olden times in one building, but now-a-days, miles apart from each other. Mr. Ruskin's dictum seems to receive support from the following:—

"Certain kinds of architecture ought to be considered as impossible in London. All that is delicate and refined is so soon blurred, defaced, and corroded by this cruel atmosphere, that it is a mockery and a delusion to attempt fine work. There ought to be a peculiar kind of architecture for such a metropolis—large, coarse, and massive, owning neither delicacy nor refinement, and not admitting minute decoration of any kind. And, again, even that coarse work requires to be executed in the hardest material, otherwise the corrosion is so great as to cause the need for constant repair."

Then the essayist proceeds to say that the small things by which public health may be injuriously affected are so many, that survey and investigation, however careful, can never overtake them, and he tells of a fever to all presumption generated by a store of oyster-shells, adding, "that many of the houses in 'London are so ill-provided with traps and 'other means of separation from the sewers, 'that, in certain states of the atmosphere, 'these houses are but vertical portions of the 'horizontal sewers."

Then there is a plea for open spaces—and a suggestion for covered-in exercising grounds—a diatribe against the inevitable noises of great cities, and a theory propounded that it is the sight of so much squalidity which makes men eager to secure fortunes for their children, to the neglect of the public good, and that one of the great helps to the solution of the problem would be the best way of directing some of this energy into a wider channel. The essay and the discussion on "Intrusiveness," which follow, are not without significance, because they show clearly another series of subtle causes at work to render the individual subordinate to society, whereby his best attributes are uncalled-forth—the aim of each man becomes perforce the desire to be in the public eye, and unconsciously he subsides into subserviency to it in merely secondary work. The continual espionage to

which a man is subjected tends to develop a morbid state of the nerves, and in that state fully half the greatest errors of great men have been committed—by no means a bright prospect for improvement in official work, as democracy and its inseparable accompaniments, intrusiveness and over-publicity, grow. One or two of the sections which follow—unless we except the one on "Over-Publicity," which is a complement to that on "Intrusiveness"—are more limited in application, and, we think, in interest—though that on "The Art of Leaving Off" is most ingenious and striking.

If anything positive is to be deduced from the sparkling humour and airy intelligence of this book, it is that our system of party politics, which leads to frequent changes of administrations, has bad results in withdrawing from authoritative application the fruits of long experience and method. It is specially to be seen in the essay which begins on Page 247. We have never looked with much favour on over-centralisation, "but certainly it is true that a 'permanent administrative service may be much 'hampered by the continual changes of their 'heads,' who have in a certain way to be educated for their office after they have entered it. Mr. Milverton says:—

"A minister is placed at the head of a department, generally an able man; for, after all, these political struggles do, as a general rule, bring superior men to the surface. If we may judge from experience, it nearly always requires a year before the new man, however industrious and intelligent he may be, can fully master the business of his department. He then, if political affairs are somewhat tranquil, and the government is a strong one, may have a year or two to make good use of the knowledge he has gained. But soon, alas! there comes some great or some small political convulsion or difficulty. He is either ousted from power altogether, or he is removed to some other department, of which he has to master all the details, and to be again, for a time, in the hands of his subordinates; to whom, if he is a wise and not a vain man, he will, for that time, judiciously submit himself."

And evidently Mr. Milverton has specially in his eye here the way in which, owing to these circumstances, social questions chiefly suffer. For he thus sets down his first proposal:—

"I come now to my proposal of a remedy for these anomalies. It is, that as soon as may be after the assembling of a new Parliament, permanent committees should be formed for the carrying into effect those measures of social reform which are much needed, and which have attracted a sufficient share of public attention (for that is requisite) to be likely to meet with general acceptance. The chairman of any such committee should be either the minister or under-secretary of that department to which the measure, when completed, is likely to be submitted for administration."

Earlier in this essay, which is mainly devoted to showing the bearing of frequent changes of government on the efficiency of the Civil Service, he had said, with a subtle *souffron* of satiric humour:—

"There is certainly a wonderful stupidity in mankind as regards the neglect which they show of those things which ought to have most interest for them. Any one who fully appreciates this stupidity does not need the evidence of natural philosophers to convince him that man has been much longer on the earth than the chronology, generally received, will admit. Considering the inattention he has always shown to the matters of nearest interest to him, he must have been many, many thousands of years a denizen of this planet to have arrived even at the partial civilisation which he prides himself upon having attained."

This essay is so peculiarly rich in suggestions of the most practical nature regarding defects in our administration that it cannot but be regarded as being more personal to the author than many other essays we have had from him.

Strikes and popular education, co-operation and several other points are glanced at in the discussions which follow; but the real line of thought is retaken up and followed faithfully in the next two essays—"Choice of Men for 'Office," and "Local Government." In the outset of the first, Mr. Milverton lays it down that to his mind, it is almost "indefensible" "that the road to the highest legal appointments should lie through political partisanship, and should be dependent upon the 'secure possession of a seat in Parliament'; and he believes that before very long these officers will have a seat in Parliament *ex-officio*.

"We need have no fear of a ministry oppressing us by means of these seats, which might 'be limited to some such number as ten. If 'there were any such fear, it might be still 'further controlled by the holders of these 'seats being deprived of the power of voting." And he thus illustrates his thesis:—

"We can easily see the disadvantage of this state of things if it prevailed in other branches of human effort. An army officered by men who had obtained the suffrages of their fellow-countrymen would never fight, or, at least, would never be led to victory. And it is a vain dream to suppose that good leaders for political action will often be found in the ranks of those who have not made politics the business of their lives. It must be obvious to every one that there is some prospect of this danger being realised; and it is a very serious danger. If, therefore, by any plan, however apparently anomalous, any safeguards can be provided to counteract the evil, the plan may be worth considering."

* *Social Pressure*. By the Author of "Friends in Council." (Daldy, Isbister and Co.)

For Local Government he would have it free—the true original unit being the parish, which, as towns rise, yields the municipal corporation—but with thorough central supervision. He deprecates the idea of a man being chosen member of a sanitary committee, or made an improvement commissioner merely because he is an alderman or a common council-man. The qualifications of health officers, railway directors, &c., are considered. As to the former, he says, there are two ways:—

"One is, that even in the local administration, there should be offices of larger away and of a more extensive district than those now entrusted to the ordinary officer of health of the primary class. This might be effected by several of the primary districts being under the supervision of a higher officer, appointed, we will say, by the county.

"In addition to this, there might be promotion to the offices of inspectors of the central board, who should be men of much skill and capacity. Into this body, as vacancies occurred, those persons might be introduced who had distinguished themselves in local administration."

These essays are full of wise counsel, they are pervaded by quiet humour; and, though they are by no means hopeless in their tone, there is a kind of reflectiveness in them that occasionally verges on the mild melancholy, to which merely speculative minds are most subject—as witness that passage in the essay on "Looking Back," in which the writer somewhat pathetically mourns over the time that it takes to get anything done. But they are seasoned by a "gentle charity," a tolerance of other opinions, and a patience of contradiction, which are alike remarkable. The book deserves the fullest consideration of politicians and students, no less than of the throng of social reformers, and we wish that it may only accomplish one-half the good which the author desires for thousands of the "dim common populations," who will never hear of the book.

And we should not part with "Social Presure" without saying that it is quite out of our power to give any idea of the raciness, the originality, and the whimsicality of the discussions of the "Friends in Council," which alternate with and relieve the essays. For a taste of these discussions the reader must go to the book itself. We promise him a pleasure of no common order—a gentle intellectual exercise that cannot fail of the best of practical results—a deeper interest in his poorer neighbours and fellow-strugglers, and a desire to aid and elevate them, however much he may take exception to some of the opinions expressed by one or other of the *Friends*.

THREE NOVELS.*

"Luke Wesley Church" is most probably not the proper name of the author of the novel "From the Plough to the Pulpit"; which might more correctly have been termed, "From Wesleyanism to the Church." The hero of this tale was the son of a farmer, and his early character does not impress one very favourably. He went to school, where he found hypocrisy in others and religion for himself. He became a local preacher amongst the Wesleys—a prodigy and a prig. From this sphere he was drafted off to Cambridge University. The early history of this young gentleman at Cambridge is told with a good deal of humour, reminding us not a little of Mr. Verdant Green. He was a capital subject for practical jokes, and he was the victim of rather more than the share that usually falls to the lot of one freshman. He improved, however, as he went on, and in course of time forsook the Wesleys and took orders in the Church. The novel contains some very life-like sketches of Wesleys, and not a few good university sketches. It is marred by two faults:—First, the obvious design of bringing over the hero to the Establishment; and, secondly, the author's theory about the Jesuits. He finds Jesuits at school, at college, in the pulpit, and "in political Dissent." In fact, he seems to be almost as weak-minded as his hero. Nevertheless, his book is worth reading, if for no other reason, because it travels out of the ordinary line of the novelist.

In "Jessie Trim," Mr. Farjeon has, for once, come short of his own standard. First, the characters are nearly all uninteresting; secondly, the style as a whole is dull; and lastly, events are brought about in an altogether too jerky a manner. "Jessie Trim" is certainly the heroine, and possibly Mr. Farjeon intended to make more of her, but, as a matter of fact, the book is almost exclusively occupied not with

the heroine, but with the hero. There are two or three fairly drawn characters, however. The first are Anthony Bullpit and his son—the son especially—next comes Uncle Bryan, secretive and morose, and, best of all, Turk West. The theatrical sketches are done with a living power which Mr. Farjeon has rarely exceeded, but Chris's mother is a failure, and the greater failure that the sketch was evidently intended to be a success. The reason is that we do not see the character that is described. Mr. Farjeon will do better by reverting to his old ground.

In "Woman's a Riddle," we have a tale of freshness and power. Mr. Sheldon has written before, but has never produced such distinct and well-drawn characters. The tale is told by a governess, and one of the best features is that, all through, the writer sustains that character without once forgetting it. We find the governess first in an ordinary London middle-class family. Here Sir Gervase Warmstrete, a formal, antique aristocratic country gentleman, was a visitor. He succeeds in getting the governess to take charge of his niece, a young lady whose ignorance is only equalled by her viciousness. Nobody being able to do anything with her, Sir Gervase at last determines to marry, and selects an amiable young lady whom he thinks he can bend to his formal ways and iron rule. The history of this process is admirably told. The subject bends, and nearly breaks, but at the same time dissatisfies, and is on the point—good as she is—of eloping, when conscience comes to her rescue at the moment that Sir Gervase dies. Then follows another marriage, whose result we need not detail. The master character in the work, which is very powerfully drawn, is Sir Gervase, but it is not entirely original. It is George Eliot's Mr. Casaubon made into a country gentleman, and the reader will find one or two other resemblances besides this to a part of the plot of "Middlemarch." But the book as a whole is fresh, and the novel-reader will delight in it.

"SCRIPTURE PROVERBS."

Mr. Jacox's industry and versatility are inexhaustible. For a man who has much leisure, love of reading and the knack of quotation, it is not much trouble to make commonplace books; but to invent happy settings for such gatherings, and so give them something of the value of original essays, is not such a common gift. Happy quotation, says Emerson, is a high art. Mr. Jacox understands it. He selects well, arranges well, and happily drops in connecting links which are often as suggestive as most of his originals. Each section is really a complete essay—full of point, pith, and suggestion. He is never hard, heavy, or wearisome. Full of learning and with a wondrously retentive memory for whatever is quaint or whimsical as well as for what is deep, permanent or valuable in literature, he has almost elevated compilation to the dignity of original reflection. His books are pleasant to read; but they are also useful to refer to, and doubtless they will be found of vast value to students.

In the present case, the author has illustrated the most outstanding proverbs of Scripture by the aid of other literatures; and the result is a very pleasant book. It is reverent, serious, learned, yet easy, chatty, and exceedingly attractive. No book of note—be it biography, essay, or novel—but Mr. Jacox has read in that mood of leisurely, delicious, appreciative pleasure which enables him to make mental jottings that serve him right well afterwards. Those chapters on "The Sure Side of Suretyship," and on "Counsellors Many and too Many," are brim full of quiet practical wisdom, and deserve to be pondered by young men amid the temptations to easy acquiescence which the present conditions of society so much tend to encourage in them. The chapter on "Kindness to Animals," too, is pregnant with tender meaning and reference, and the anecdotes here, as elsewhere, are excellent. On "Owning Oneself in the Wrong" we have read with peculiar pleasure; it is the work of a true essayist. "Fair Weather Friends" is also good; and the passage on "Self-restraint in Sallies of Wit," at page 288, deserves the widest reading. The present writer knows Professor Aytoun well, and can endorse this statement regarding him—and is it not well to have the temptation to be witty even at the expense of a friend's feelings tempered by such instances? "Although claiming for Professor Aytoun some talent for sharpness of repartee, Mr. Theodore Martin describes him as of too kindly and sympathetic a nature to shine as a wit; for not only was

"his friend dearer to him than his jest, but he had that fine instinct of pain which suspends many a flash of humour or wit that might dazzle numbers but wound one." And yet Aytoun succeeded as humourist and wit.

We find Sir Arthur Helps, in a work we notice above, grieving over the length of time it takes to get anything done, and he amplifies, by considering how allowances need to be made for the illness, idleness, or general obstinacy of those associated with you, either as subordinates or counsellors. Here is a remarkable instance in proof of this supplied by Mr. Jacox in his chapter on "The Multitude of Counsellors" with some not inappropriate reflections:—

"John Balfour of Burleigh has gained a main point when he succeeds in persuading the wiser of his friends that the counsellors of their party are too numerous, and that they cannot expect the Midianites to be, by so large a number, delivered into their hands. . . . The contrast is often quoted between the Academy, whose forty members took fifty-six years to compile the French Dictionary, and Dr. Johnson, who alone compiled the English one in eight. Side by side with the Emigration Board, under whose management hundreds were dying of fever from close packing, and under whose license our sailing vessels, which, like the Washington, were the homes of fraud, brutality, tyranny, and obscenity, Mr. Herbert Spencer, some years ago, compared Mrs. Chisholm's beneficent enterprise, and from the comparison drew conclusions of practical moment. An Executive Board, even supposing it to combine every element of talent and experience, has been pronounced little better than an ingenious contrivance for eluding the fair responsibility of a governing body to those whose interests it represents. Then again of charity committees, and the like, it has been said that utter helplessness is their most curious characteristic; that, animated by a sincere desire to do a great deal, they seldom contrive to get beyond the preliminary stage of talking; but every evil must work its own cure, and by this time benevolent and charitable people are confessedly coming to see the absolute impotence of a numerous body of men for carrying on the details of business, and to resign themselves to the necessity of a more concentrated agency. . . . A recent essayist on common-sense observes that it does not work in numbers, and will not act freely in consultations, committees, nor especially in large numbers; a thousand fairly sensible people will, under the pressure of contact, do a frightfully foolish thing, at which each, acting alone, would stand aghast."

The book is a repertory of wise sayings, genial remarks, and apt anecdote, strung together by the help of a quick fancy and exquisite taste and sensibility, and we can prophesy a success for the book. We are not sure, however, that Mr. Jacox is right about the two following verses, which he hints that George Beattie, of Montrose, plagiarised from Hartley Coleridge:—

"Say what is worse than black despair!
Tis that sick hope too weak for flying,
That play at fast and loose with care,
And waits a weary life in dying.
Though promise be a welcome guest,
Yet it may be too late a comer;
'Tis but a cuckoo at the best—
The joy of spring scarce heard in summer."

George Beattie was born in 1786, and died by his own hand in 1823. Hartley Coleridge was born in 1796, and was thus only twenty-seven at the date of Beattie's death. The lines are not like the work of a very young man, or of one who had not had deep and trying experiences. It is much a question of date—priority of publication. Hartley Coleridge, however, lived till 1849, which gives poor Beattie's poems a longer time to travel to Hartley Coleridge than Hartley Coleridge's to poor Beattie—who, whatever may be said of his range as a poet, was at once unfortunate and original, and had the merit of drawing his poetry duly out of his own heart, or connecting it with local custom or association.

BOOKS FOR THE CHRISTMAS SEASON.

The Fantastic History of the Celebrated Pierrot, written by the Magician Alcofrabas, and translated from the Logdian by ALFRED ASSOLLANT. Rendered into English by A. G. MUNRO. With upwards of 100 humorous illustrations by Yan' Dargent. (Sampson Low and Co.) Though we have in this book a very powerful and characteristic portrait of the Magician Alcofrabas, who "devoted his life to 'the study of science,' we are inclined to regard him rather in the light of a myth, and to seek for the original of this very fanciful, forcible, and funny tale not in quite so remote a period as he could only have lived in. It is a sort of French Gulliver and the Lilliputians—professedly surrounded with an eastern, that is, a Chino-Tartar atmosphere. It abounds with stirring adventures, hairbreadth escapes, mysteries, murders, battles, distressed maidens, and all the acknowledged wonders and machineries of the "Arabian Nights." But it has the modern tendency to detail, which may recommend it to boys, but somewhat reduces its value as art. However, the writer has so studied to master the action that it will no doubt be found interesting to the younger generation. For our

* 1. *From the Plough to the Pulpit, via Cambridge.* By LUKE WESLEY CHURCH. Three Volumes. (Tinsley Brothers.)

2. *Jessie Trim.* By B. L. FARJEON. Three Volumes. (Tinsley Brothers.)

3. *Woman's a Riddle, or Baby Warmstrete.* By PHILIP SHELDON. Three Volumes. (Henry S. King and Co.)

4. *Scripture Proverbs, Illustrated, Annotated, and Applied.* By FRANCIS JACOX, author of "Traits of Character," &c., &c. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

selves, with all its grotesque inventiveness, its dash, its brilliancy and exaggerated humour, we confess we have found it somewhat tiresome, though relieved by touches of real genius here and there; as witness the episode of the courtiers and King Vatripan at p. 128, and the trick played on the giant Kabardantes at p. 152. The illustrations are genuinely French—some of them too grotesque and horrible, others very funny, and others remarkable for powerful drawing in action both of horses and men. For rare character and expression we would specially refer to the cuts on pp. 24 and 129. It is altogether an entertaining and clever book.

Dog Life. Narratives exhibiting Instinct, Intelligence, Fidelity, Sympathy, Attachment, and Sorrow. Illustrated by Sixteen Engravings after Sir EDWIN LANDSEER. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) Anecdotes of animals are never-failing in interest for children. All however, depends upon arrangement. Here we have another addition to the long list of books of this kind, containing a deal that is old and a little that is new, which owes nearly everything to its admirable arrangement. It does not attempt to describe too wide a circle, and is the better on that account. The various headings under which the anecdotes are ranged is indicated on the subtitle. Intelligence, sympathy, fidelity, attachment, sorrow, are each defined and illustrated; so that if you remember the main intent of the anecdote, you can have no difficulty in finding it again. Some of the instances given are very remarkable, as, for example, those in pp. 91, 92, p. 100, and pp. 236, 237. The drawings—very clear and beautiful—after Sir Edwin Landseer, are themselves more than worth the price of the book. There is a misprint, which looks odd to a Scotchman's eye, at p. 213, in the anecdote of Dr. Guthrie's "Bob"—"Arbelot" should be "Arbirlot."

Among the Arabs. Adventures in the Desert, and Sketches of Life and Character in Tent and Town. With numerous illustrations. (Seeley and Co.) This is a very readable book, suited either for boys or girls. It draws in skillfully from such books as that of Mr. Palgrave's, and altogether conveys a vivid picture of life among the Arabs: it describes the desert and a journey through it, the hospitality of the Arabs, their domestic customs, their markets, their warfare and wars, and communicates much information, while it is interesting. The cuts are very good. The chapters on "Arab Women" and "Arab Physicians" are full of information.

A Boy's Kingdom: or Four Years in a Cave. By the author of "Under the Lime Trees," "Captain Wolfe." With numerous illustrations. (Seeley.) This is the story of a boy, who, sailing in a ship, the *Marahman*, which was caught in a storm, was saved by a dog, and who lived for four years in a cave on a wild island. It belongs to a class of books which have had a large attractiveness for the young; but we are not sure that the style has not been overdone. It differs, however, from the *Robinson Crusoe* conception, inasmuch as the little hero has companions in his cave; but the tale of intruders, and of the sports and perils and disappointments he underwent, is well done. It is developed with great circumstantiality, and carries the reader along with keen interest and curiosity. The cuts, which are French evidently, are very expressive.

Travellers' Tales. By the Author of "Busy Bee," "Strawberry Bank," &c. With forty-five illustrations. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) In this beautifully printed and illustrated work an old traveller tells tales of all countries in an equally amusing and instructive manner. There are tales of mountains in all parts of the globe that he has ascended, curious animals that he has met, and so on. It is a good and cheap book for a present.

Little Blue Eyes, and other Field and Flower Stories. By the Author of "My Young Days," "Little Lives," &c. (Seeley, Jackson and Halliday.) Little Blue Eyes lives down a lane: now can any child guess who she is? "Forget-me-not, of course!" No; it is the Speedwell. Now just as Blue-eyes woke one morning, Jenny Wren flew out of her snug nest and said, "My babies 'are all out of their shells this morning, Blue-eyes. 'Such little darlings they are; oh! such little 'darlings. But don't you tell anybody, Blue-eyes, mind you don't tell." That is how these stories begin—or nearly begin—and by-and-bye 'all the birds and flowers talk, telling a good deal about themselves—and other people. In fact, they chatter as we know they will. The style of this work is charming for its simplicity, and the illustrations are very effective.

The Young Brahmin's Story; or the Confessions of Bihari Lal. By AUGUSTE GLARDON, late missionary in Ajmere. Translated by SARAH M. S. CLARKE.

(Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Co.) We do not remember to have met with a work of this kind before. It is introduced by a missionary as a tale told by a young Brahmin who became, after a long mental conflict, a teacher in the missionary's school. Its object is to expose the utter hypocrisy of the Brahminical system. Readers of "The Last Days of Pompeii" will remember the author's exposure of the jugglery connected with the worship of "Isis." We have just such an exposure here, only that it relates to a religion of the day. The book is a striking one, and very effectively written.

Sea Breezes. By the Author of the "Knights of the Frozen Sea," "Good Dogs," &c. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) What boy wants to know all about the ships of the olden times—what they did, and what sort of things they were? What boy wants to know all about the Polar expeditions from the first to the last? What boy wants to go to sea? Here is the book for him, where it's all told, and where sixty-five illustrations enable him to see as well as to read.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

A woman in Ottawa labours under the delusion that she is to be the next Queen of England.

According to the *Voce della Verità*, the report that the Pope is ill of a fever is incorrect.

The trial of the civil suit of Mr. Theodore Tilton against Mr. Henry Ward Beecher is set down for Dec. 8.

Thirty Chinese students have arrived at San Francisco, en route for Hartford, Conn., where they are to undergo a course of educational training.

In a return compiled from the latest census returns, there are said to be no less than 93,231 lepers in India.

Mr. James Russell Lowell has declined to accept the post of United States Minister to the Court of St. Petersburg.

It is thought that no exciting political debate will take place before January, there being plenty of business to occupy the House until Christmas.

The Empress of Russia left Paris for San Remo on Monday. The weather was too cold during her stay to allow of her paying visits. The Czarewitsch has left for St. Petersburg.

A telegram from Rome states that a bill, signed by the Left, has been laid before the Chamber, proposing to grant an annuity of 4,000*l.* a-year to Garibaldi.

A Calais journal mentions that the quantity of herrings on the coast is so great that the boats sink under the loads. The fish is selling at five for a halfpenny.

From Chili we learn that the President and his Ministers, as well as several members of his Council and many senators and deputies, have been excommunicated for prohibiting under penalty the publication of Papal Bulls exciting to sedition.

Reports published in the New York papers of a revolt on the part of several Fiji chiefs are stated to be unfounded. On the contrary, everything is progressing satisfactorily. The King has arrived at Sydney in H.M.S. *Dido*, and will visit Melbourne.

A very severe earthquake shock has been felt throughout Chili. Great alarm prevailed at Valparaiso and Santiago, and hundreds of families sat up during the remainder of the night in order to be prepared for any fresh shock that might occur.

According to a Berlin telegram to the *Morning Post*, it is stated on good authority that the French Government has agreed, with certain reservations, to the Russian proposal for framing an international code of the usages of war.

It is stated that the hurricane which recently passed over Jamaica did more damage than any which has visited the island for more than forty years. Huge forest trees were torn up, and much growing produce destroyed. Many houses were blown down, and roads washed away.

THE POPULATION OF JERUSALEM is estimated at 21,000, of whom 5,000 are Moslems, 5,500 Christians of all denominations, 10,000 Jews, and about 500 Europeans (not being Jews) mostly Germans. Within the last two years the Jewish population has considerably increased—probably to the extent of 2,000—by constant arrivals, principally of Polish and Russian Jews.

THE CAWNPORE PRISONER.—The *Times* Calcutta correspondent telegraphs that the inquiry respecting the supposed Nana is proceeding, but particulars are strictly concealed. He adds that public opinion grows more sceptical.

FATAL PANIC IN A CHURCH.—An alarm of fire was recently raised during special services in the French parish church at Montreal, and the congregation made a rush for the doors. Three hundred people were trampled upon, and many of them were fatally injured.

A FRAUDULENT EX-MINISTER.—M. Clement Duvernois, who was formerly a Minister under the French Empire, was convicted in Paris on Wednesday of swindling and breach of trust in connection with the Territorial Bank of Spain, and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of 1,000 francs. Three other persons were also sentenced to fine and imprisonment as his accomplices, and two were acquitted.

BURIED IN A SNOW DRIFT.—From the account in the *Journal de Genève* of the accident which

has occurred on the Great St. Bernard, it seems that eight Italian workmen were crossing the mountain, and that two monks and a servant, followed by a dog, went out to meet them. The whole party were overtaken by a snowstorm, and buried in the drift. One of the monks succeeded in extricating himself, but was only able to walk a few steps. The dog went back to the monastery, and assistance was sent, but it was too late. The monk died half an hour after being found; the others still remained buried in the snow.

THE PARIS MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS took place on Sunday, and resulted, as was anticipated, in the victory of the Radical candidates. The new Council will consist of twelve Conservatives and sixty-eight Republicans. Most of the latter were supported by the Radicals, but are not all Radicals themselves. The richest arrondissement in Paris—that of the Opera—returned Republican members. Six more elections will take place on Sunday next. At Versailles, Toulouse, Niort, Troyes, Compiègne, and other towns, the second ballot, which took place on Sunday, was favourable to the Republicans.

THE FRENCH ASSEMBLY.—Monday being the day fixed for the opening of the French Assembly, there was a large attendance of deputies in Versailles, and several meetings took place between the members of the different political factions. At a meeting of the Extreme Right a letter was read from the Comte de Chambord, in which the writer said that, confiding in the zeal of his friends, he would not offer them any advice beyond stating that a true Royalist must do nothing that might delay the Royalist restoration. This letter was communicated to the Moderate Right. It is stated that the Extreme Right will vote against the Constitutional Bills. It is doubtful what course the Moderate Right will take. Should the Right Centre unite with the Left Centre, it is thought the Constitutional Bills could be carried in spite of the Right, but as yet the negotiations for unity of action between the Centres have not succeeded. The fraction of the Left will take no action until after the delivery of the President's Message. The Assembly was formally opened during the day. M. Thiers was present at Monday's sitting, and entered into conversation with General Cissey.

Gleanings.

Mr. Kinglake's volume of the "History of the Crimean War," which deals principally with the battle of Inkerman, has been sent to press.

Messrs. H. S. King and Co. have in preparation a translation of the New Testament, from the latest Greek Text of Tischendorf, by Dr. Samuel Davidson.

An old lady thinks that a good many modern "songs" thoroughly deserve to be called "strains."

A lecturer, addressing an audience, contended, with tiresome prolixity, that art could not improve nature, until one of his hearers, losing all patience, set the room in a roar by exclaiming, "How would you look without your wig?"

There was, not so many years ago, a very famous physician enjoying a leading West-end practice, who used to say that whenever he did not know what else to do, he fell back upon the good old word "idiosyncrasy."

An old lady, whose son was about to proceed to the Black Sea, among other parting admonitions, gave him strict injunctions not to bathe in that sea, for she did not want to see him come home a "blackamore."

Miss Susan B. Anthony, one of the "strong-minded," lately delivered a very powerful address on "Woman's Rights," but, unfortunately, upset all her arguments for woman's independence of the other sex by passing round a man's hat to take up the collection.

"Show me a Radical, gentlemen," said a politician, "and I'll show you a liar." "I sir, am one," exclaimed a ready opponent. "Just come round the corner," was the reply, "and I'll show you a fellow who said I couldn't find a Radical in the ward."

AN EPIGRAM.—The late George Outram, whose amusing lyrics have just been collected, threw off the following epigram on hearing a lady praise a certain rev. doctor's eyes:—

I cannot praise the doctor's eyes,
I never saw his glance divine;
He always shuts them when he prays,
And when he preaches he shuts mine.

ESTABLISHED DISSIDENTS.—We are told that it is no longer the Dissenters of the Liberation Society alone who compass and imagine the disestablishment of the National Church. Many of the Ritualist clergy also are said to contemplate it, in case the laws are enforced against their mimics of Roman Catholicism. Thus disestablishment is contemplated not only by Dissenters without the Church, but also by Dissenters within. In the meantime might not these established Dissenters as well dis-establish themselves?—*Punch*.

HYPOCRISY.—A Scotch minister had a farmer neighbour who was in the habit of shooting on Sunday. But after a while this Sabbath-breaker joined the church. One day the minister to whose church he belonged met a friend of the farmer, and said:—"Do you see any difference in Mr. P— since he joined the church?" "Oh, yes!" replied

the friend, "a great difference. Before, when he went out to shoot on Sunday, he carried his gun over his shoulder, but now he carries it under his coat."

A COOL OBJECTION.—A candidate at a recent examination in Paris lately gave an answer to the first question addressed to him, which deserves to rank with that of the youth who, being requested by the examiners in divinity at Oxford to enumerate the major and minor prophets, declined to make invidious distinctions. "Come, sir," said the French examiner in an encouraging tone to the unpromising-looking "subject," who came forward in his turn, "oblige me by telling me all you know of Louis XVI." "Sir," replied the young man, with a modest, yet dignified air, "I never make any individual the subject of idle gossip."

AN APPROPRIATE TEXT.—A story is told of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Sumner. He once held a stall in Durham Cathedral, and of course frequently performed service there. The students of the University attend service, in the centre of the church. One morning, an undergraduate coming in whilst the organist was playing the voluntary, made haste to get to his seat. Hurrying past the lecturer, his gown caught and began to tear. As is their wont, the students tittered; the unfortunate undergraduate, becoming confused, rushed on, splitting his gown into halves, by the very noise made with the tearing drawing universal attention. Before he had got to his seat the canon rose abstractedly, and commenced the service with, "Rend your hearts and not your garments," &c. The whole congregation, already with difficulty suppressing its amusement, burst out laughing.

HOW TO TAKE CARE OF FURS.—Most ladies suppose that care in putting away furs is all that is required; they can wear them when and how they please, provided they expend a few pence for camphor in putting them away. This idea should be corrected. More harm is done to furs by wearing them for a week after the weather has become warm, than during a whole cold season. Moreover, when laid aside they should be brushed the right way with a soft brush, an old linen handkerchief folded smoothly over them, and a piece of gum camphor kept in the box all the time, just as good housekeepers keep a piece tucked away under the cushion chairs or sofas if they are velvet or woollen, and sprinkle it under the edge of carpets all the year round to keep the moths away. A cedar closet is a treasure, and next to that is the comfort of a chest, in which furs and woollens can be kept; but if neither is available, the next best thing is to put furs away as early as possible (using a scarf and lined gloves to break the force of the later spring east winds), well wrapped in cotton or linen, in their own boxes, with a layer of gum camphor above and below. This will prove effectual. In this climate all closets and bureau drawers should be emptied of their contents once in about three months, the articles well shaken and exposed to the open air, the woodwork (shelves particularly) scrubbed with scalding alum-water, and powdered with borax. If this were done we should hear less of the depredations by moths and other insects.—*Pictorial World.*

BREAKFAST.—EPPS'S COCOA.—GRATEFUL AND COMFORTING.—"By a thorough knowledge of the natural laws which govern the operations of digestion and nutrition, and by a careful application of the fine properties of well-selected cocoa, Mr. Epps has provided our breakfast-tables with a delicately flavoured beverage which may save us many heavy doctors' bills."—"Civil Service Gazette." Made simply with Boiling Water or Milk.—Sold by Grocers in Packets only, labelled—"JAMES EPPS and Co., Homoeopathic Chemists, 48, Threadneedle-street, and 170, Piccadilly; Works, Euston-road, London."

MANUFACTURE OF COCOA.—"We will now give an account of the process adopted by Messrs. James Epps and Co., manufacturers of dietetic articles, at their works in the Euston-road, London."—See article in "Cassell's Household Guide."

THE THROAT AND WINDPIPE are especially liable to inflammation, causing soreness and dryness, tickling and irritation, inducing cough and affecting the voice. For these symptoms use glycerine in the form of lozenges. Glycerine in these agreeable confections, being in proximity to the glands at the moment they are excited by the act of sucking, becomes actively healing. 6d. and 1s. packets (by post 8 or 15 stamps), labelled—"JAMES EPPS & Co., Homoeopathic Chemists, 48, Threadneedle-street, and 170, Piccadilly."

JUDSON'S SIMPLE DYES are exceedingly useful household commodities. The process is simple, and result satisfactory, as applied to woollen and silk articles. Shetland shawls or cloths that have become yellow are good subjects for young beginners in the art of dyeing. A basin of water only required; time, five minutes! Judson's Dyes, 6d. per bottle, eighteen colours, of all Chemists and Stationers.

KINAHAN'S LL WHISKY.—This most celebrated and delicious old mellow spirit is the very cream of Irish Whiskies, in quality unrivalled, perfectly pure, and more wholesome than the finest Cognac Brandy. Note the Red Seal, Pink label, and Cork branded "Kinahan's LL Whisky." Wholesale, 20, Great Titchfield-street, Oxford-st., W.

THE INSTITUTION FOR DISEASES OF THE SKIN, 227, Gray's Inn-road, King's-cross, is open on Thursday evenings from six till nine; the City branch, 10, Mitre-street, Aldgate, on Wednesday and Friday evenings. The institution is free to the necessitous poor; payment is required from other applicants.

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT AND PILLS.—Diseases and casualties incidental to youth may be safely treated by the use of these excellent medicaments, according to the printed directions folded round each box and pot. Nor is this Ointment alone applicable to external ailments; conjointly with the Pills it exercises the most salutary influence in checking inflammations situated in the interior of the body. When rubbed upon the back and chest, it gives the most sensible relief in asthma, bronchitis, pleurisy, and threatening consumption. Holloway's remedies are especially serviceable in liver and stomach complaints. For the cure of bad legs, and all sorts of wounds, sores, and likewise scrofula and scorbutic affections, this Ointment produces a cooling and soothing feeling most acceptable to the sufferer.

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

[A uniform charge of One Shilling (prepaid) is made for announcements under this heading, for which postage-stamps will be received. All such announcements must be authenticated by the name and address of the sender.]

BIRTH.

NAYLOR.—October 30, at 41, Wellesley-street, Calcutta, the wife of the Rev. John Naylor, of a son.

MARRIAGES.

LANDER—ARNOLD.—November 24, at Redland Park Congregational Church, by the Rev. U. R. Thomas, Samuel John, youngest son of the late Mr. Samuel John Lander, to Eva, daughter of T. W. Arnold, of Bath.

SMITH—KAY.—November 26, at Salem Congregational Church, Burnley, by the Rev. John Reid, assisted by the Rev. John Stroyan, Thomas Henry Smith, son of Henry Smith, of Skipton, to Ellen, second daughter of John Kay, J.P., of Burnley.

HARE—LEWIS.—November 28, at Upper Holloway Chapel, by the Rev. W. G. Lewis, Baywater, brother of the bride, Mr. William Hare, 11, Alexandra-villas, Finsbury Park, to Catherine Agnes, youngest daughter of the late Rev. W. G. Lewis, of Cheltenham.

RABBITS—ROBERTS.—November 28, at the Lewisham Congregational Chapel, by the Rev. J. Morlais Jones, William Thomas, elder son of William Rabbits, of Forest Hill, to Maria Keveill, eldest daughter of Robert Roberts, also of Forest Hill.

DEATHS.

WHERRY.—November 19, at Peterborough, Mr. John Wherry, aged sixty-four, after a short illness, formerly of March, Cambs.

LEIGHTON.—November 22, at Lochie House, Hornsey-rise, London, N., the Rev. Edward Leighton, in the 74th year of his age. Friends will kindly accept this intimation.

ROGERS.—November 24, at Prittlewell, Essex, resting on the Rock of Ages, Mr. John Rogers, aged 39, late deacon of the Baptist Church, Fooks Cray, Kent, and superintendent of the Sabbath-school.

PRATTEN.—November 25, at 4, Swanbourn-villas, Bristol, Miss Mary Pratten, aged eighty-seven.

ELLINGTON.—November 27, at Reudlesham-road, Hackney, Emily, widow of the late Ebenezer Ellington, formerly of Mildenhall, Suffolk, aged fifty-three.

FUNERAL REFORM.

The LONDON NECROPOLIS COMPANY conducts Funerals with simplicity, and with great economy. Prospectus free.—Chief Office, 2, Lancaster-place, Strand, W.C.

Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, MARK LANE, Monday, Nov. 30.—We had a good supply of English wheat this morning, and liberal arrivals from abroad. The trade was steady, and English wheat sold at the full prices of Monday last. Foreign wheat was in fair demand, and maintained the slight advance obtained during the past week. In flour a moderate extent of business was doing at rather more money. Peas were fully as dear. Beans made 1s. advance. Of Indian corn little was offering, and prices were 1s. higher. Making barley was in request, at full prices; grinding descriptions were easier to buy. Arrivals of oats are large, and prices ex-ship were in favour of buyers, but without change from granary. At the ports of call few cargoes are for orders. Wheat and Indian corn are fully 1s. per qr. higher on the week. Barley quiet, and prices rather lower.

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET, Monday, Nov. 30.—The total imports of foreign stock into London last week consisted of 15,748 head. In the corresponding week last year we received 14,779; in 1872, 8,239; in 1871, 16,308; in 1870, 16,999; and in 1869, 10,849 head. The cattle trade has been dull in tone to-day, influenced by the unfavourable weather. There has been a good show of beasts on offer. From our own grazing districts the receipts have been on a fair average scale, but the quality has been rather various. Throughout the demand has ruled heavy, and sales have only been concluded at a decline of 2d. per 8lbs. For the best Scots and crosses 6s. to 6s. 2d. per 8lbs has been accepted. From Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire we have received about 2,000; from Norfolk, 60; from Scotland, 262; from other parts of England, about 300; and from Ireland, 361 head. On the foreign side of the market the supply of beasts has been less extensive. Nevertheless, the demand has ruled inactive at barely late rates. From Tonnage we have received 1,130, Dutch 500, Gothenburg 14, and Spanish 42. There has been a good show of sheep in the pens. The supply has been in excess of requirements, the trade ruling dull at 2d. per 8lbs. reduction. The best Downs and half-breeds have been disposed of at 5s. 10d. to 6s. per 8lbs. The Calf trade has been very dull, at an important decline. Pigs have been neglected.

METROPOLITAN MEAT MARKET, Monday, Nov. 30.—A moderate supply of meat was on sale here to-day, and the trade was very slow, at barely late rates.

PROVISIONS, Monday, Nov. 30.—The arrivals last week from Ireland were 370 firkins butter and 3,581 bales bacon, and from foreign ports 32,192 packages butter, and 1,623 bales bacon. The supplies of finest foreign butter are barely equal to the demand, and in some cases higher prices are obtained; inferior descriptions continue dull. For Irish little or no inquiry. The bacon market continues slow, and prices generally declined 1s. to 2s. per cwt. At the close of the week there appeared more steadiness in the market.

HOPS, BOROUGH, Monday, Nov. 30.—During the past week considerable quantities of hops, principally Kent, have changed hands at improved prices, and the stocks on offer being now much reduced holders ask more money. To-day business is more limited. Yearlings and olds are selling at recent rates. Continental markets firm, Alsat dearer. Mid and East Kent £10 £11, £15 15s.; Weald of Kent, £8 8s., £9 9s., £10 10s.; Sussex, £7 7s., £8 8s., £9 9s.; Farnham and Country, £9, £10, £11; Farnham, £10, £11, £13.

POTATOES, Borough and Spitalfields, Monday, Nov. 30.—The arrival of potatoes are on a moderate scale, and the trade is steady, at the following currency:—Regents, 75s. to 100s. per ton; Rocks, 60s. to 75s.; Victorias, 95s. to 110s.; Flukes, 105 to 130 per ton. The imports of potatoes into London last week amounted to 20,760 bags from Antwerp, 1,301 tons and 1,711 bags from Dunkirk, 113 bags from Rotterdam, 36 Dort, 109 Calais, 200 Brussels, 274 tons from St. Malo, 9 Bremen, 150 tons Le Vivier, 7 bags Hamburg, and 18 barrels from New York.

WOOL, Monday, Nov. 30.—The wool market has been

quiet in tone. Fair supplies have been offering, and about equal to requirements, the demand ruling inactive. Prices have been unaltered.

COAL, Monday, Nov. 30.—There was a firm market to-day at last day's prices. Hettons, 27s.; Haswell, 27s. 6d.; South Hettons, 27s. 6d.; Hetton Lyons, 25s. 3d.; Hawthorn, 25s. 3d. Ships for sale, 29; at sea, 15.

AS IT OUGHT TO BE.

"I visited" writes Dr. HASSALL, "Messrs. Horniman's Warehouse, and took samples of Tea ready for consignment to their AGENTS, & on analysis I found them PURE, & of superior quality."

"At the Docks, I took samples of Horniman's Teas, which I analyzed, & found PURE; the quality being equally satisfactory."

"I purchased Packets from 'Agents for Horniman's Tea,' the contents I find correspond in PURITY and excellence of quality, with the tea I obtained from their stock at the Docks."

2,248 AGENTS—Chemists, Confectioners, &c.

MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS.—Parents valuing their children's safety will avoid Soothing Medicines containing opium, so frequently fatal to infants, and will use only "STEDMAN'S TEETHING POWDERS," which are safest and best, being free from opium. Prepared by a Surgeon (not a Chemist), formerly attached to a Children's Hospital, whose name, "Stedman," has but one "E" in it. Trade Mark "A Gum Lancet." Refuse all others. Also Stedman's Food for Children, the very best without exception, making nerve, bone, and muscle, 3d. to 4s. 6d. Highly recommended by the Lady Susan Milbank, Ashfield, Suffolk. Depot:—East Road, Hoxton, London.

Advertisements.

CITY ROYAL PIANOFORTE and HARMONIUM SALOON.—KEITH, PROWSE, and Co., having completed the rebuilding and enlargement of their premises, invite all buyers to inspect their varied STOCK of PIANOFORTES, Harmoniums, and American Organs. Specialities:—New Boudoir Model Pianette, in walnut, with truss legs on plinths, full compass, 25 guineas, the cheapest, strongest, and most elegant pianette yet produced; the Library Model Harmonium, in light oak, 25 guineas; the Gothic Model Harmonium, in dark oak, with handsome antique carving, 70 guineas.

City Depot for Mason and Hamlin's American Organs, No. 48, Cheapside.

FLUTES.—The NEW MODEL FLUTE (old fingering), for beauty and volume of tone unsurpassed, 34 guineas and seven guineas. Also Rudall and Co.'s Prize Medal Flutes, new and second-hand. A great variety of second-hand flutes of all fingerings, at KEITH, PROWSE, and Co.'s Manufactory, 48, Cheapside.

ÆOLIAN HARPS.—New Model as exhibited at the International Exhibition.—These charming instruments, vibrating with the slightest breeze, supersede anything of the kind hitherto manufactured, 26s.; or in case, with tuning key, complete £1 11s. 6d.; old model, 21s.; double harps, £2 2s. to £4 4s.

KEITH, PROWSE, and Co., 48, Cheapside. No agents.

MUSICAL BOXES by NICOLE, FRERES.—KEITH, PROWSE, and Co., direct importers, offer parties seeking really fine, well-tuned instruments, a selection of more than 400 boxes, with all the recent improvements, from £4 to £150. Buyers are requested, before purchasing, to visit the new saloons, specially devoted to the sale of these charming instruments, which for quality have no equal. Musical Box and Self-acting Instrument Depot, No. 48, Cheapside.

ELECTRICITY IS LIFE.

PULVERMACHER'S PATENT

GALVANIC CHAIN-BANDS, BELTS, BATTERIES, RECENTLY IMPROVED.

Approved by the Academy of Medicine of Paris and other Medical Authorities in England and abroad.

Electricity, the prime actor in the process of life, pervades all living organism, and its identity with nerve force is no conjecture, but a positive scientific fact, known to all versed in the teachings of Electro-physiology.

Consequently in nervous exhaustion, local debility, and various functional disorders, it is Nature's sole and most congenial remedy. The self-application of this wonderful physical agent has become easy and agreeable to the patient, and accessible to all by the recent improvements.

In contradistinction to those unprincipled advertisers who publish statements SOLELY on THEIR OWN AUTHORITY, Mr. PULVERMACHER refrains from putting forward any statements of his own in favour of his Medico-Galvanic Appliances, but confines himself to quotations from the opinions of competent medical and scientific authorities, including Sir C. LOCOCK, Bart., M.D., F.R.C.S.; Sir HENRY HOLLAND, Bart., M.D., F.R.C.S., and F.R.S.; Sir J. R. MARTIN, Bart., C.B., F.R.C.S., F.S.A., and F.R.S.; Sir W. FERGUSON, Bart., M.D., F.R.S., F.R.C.S., &c.

The mass of evidence of the efficacy of these appliances is supplemented by the following paragraph recently found in the standard work (p. 76; 1867) of JOHN KING, M.D., Clinical Professor of Obstetrics at Cincinnati:—

"These Chains are very useful in many Nervous disorders:—
Muscular Debility, Aphonia, Rheumatism
Epilepsy, Dyspepsia
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26 Matured Policies and Bonuses	29,987
218 Policy Claims and Bonuses	£36,098

Surrendered Policies £2,062

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6. The Accumulated Fund is invested in Government Securities, Freehold Ground Rents, Corporation Bonds of the City of London, Mortgages, &c., and is equal in amount to upwards of one-half of the gross premiums received on all policies in force on the Company's books.

7. The Investments and Re-investments of the year have been in—

Government Funds	£27,481
Ground Rents	27,883
Mortgages, &c.	17,837
	£73,208

The average rate of interest thereon being £4 16s. 2d. per cent.

8. The Auditors have carefully examined the accounts and securities of the Company, and have expressed their approbation of the manner in which the accounts are kept, and the general results of the audit.

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May, 1874.

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